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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF BILL CLINTON

His wife may be the secretary of state, but the former U.S. president is racking up his own air miles. Over the weekend, Clinton was in Vietnam for the Talk Ball, a celebrity-sports gala that raises money for HIV/AIDS research. On Monday, his spokesman revealed that he would be named the UN special envoy to Haiti, the poorest country in the western hemisphere. The next day, the new envoy was at a climate change conference in Seoul, warning that "hard things are going to happen."

Good news

Taming the Tigers

After 38 years and 100,000 casualties, the Sri Lankan civil war is finally over. The military has claimed total victory over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), crushing the last remnants of the rebellion and killing the group's infamous leader. Peace isn't a long way off. Wiping out the Tigers—a ruthless terror organization—will not easily erase a quarter-century of civil blood between Sri Lanka's Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority. But to his credit, President Mahinda Rajapaksa struck a hopeful, conciliatory note in his address to parliament: "The war against the LTTE is over and against Tamil people. Our aim was to liberate our Tamil people from the clutches of the LTTE."

Conrad and beyond

The United States Supreme Court's decision in favor of an appeal of the fraud convictions of three Hollinger executives comes with a twist, including former CEO Conrad Black. In welcome news, no matter what you might think of the men themselves, the guilty verdicts relied on the finding that the men had allegedly formed the companies their "honest services," a murky legal concept at the center of many other corporate-fraud prosecutions. As Justice Antonin Scalia has already written, the concept is so broad it calls into question a whole host of lawsuits that should not be criminal matters. In Hollinger, as in all cases, the law should be well-defined and proportionate to the offense. This is the high court's chance to provide much-needed clarity.

Jack talk

The game seven showdown between the Pittsburgh Penguins

and Washington Capitals ended with more of a whump (from the Caps) than a bang, but Sidney Crosby and Alexander Ovechkin didn't disappoint. Today's two superstars offered up their best performances to date, and proved that the "last player" label is still very much unsettled. Although it was said the Red who proceeded to round three of the Stanley Cup playoffs, Alexander the Great does have one thing to be happy about: at least he wasn't wearing a Under Armour

Bad news

Burma knives

The military junta that runs Burma is saying yet another show trial for democracy activists. Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize winner stands accused of violating the terms of a house arrest when a psychologically troubled American man went the other way around her house to pay an unauthorized visit last month. It's an obvious bid by the dictators to keep Suu Kyi under wraps (her original sentence was due to expire in a few weeks) in

how many that don't tell that so millions of Burmese, where a weekend were dumped at such as 15 on of show in some area. After spending the Victoria Day weekend shoveling driveway instead of bowing to her bourgeois, day can be forgiven for thinking this a little global warming may not be such a bad thing.

Touch not that dial

TV is bad for kids—worse than you imagined. A condemnation of the boob tube came in a speech from John Gatto, chair of England's Independent Schools Association. Citing a study showing that children who watch a day watching TV, spending or on the Internet, he warned that the next generation of children is not being prepared for adulthood. And that's if they actually grow up. According to U.S. study found 12,000 children were hospitalized in 1997 by falling furniture, and that television accounted for almost half the injuries—some serious with fatal results. As for the role of lead programming, don't even get us started.

YAAAAARGH!

Hopes that Somalia's new government would forge peace and restore order to the lawless country—and the sea off its coast—have been dashed by renewed fighting. Meanwhile, the rest of the world struggles to find an answer to spiraling pirate attacks that is the latest to dispatch its navy to the Gulf of Aden, sending two ships to help protect its commercial oil tankers. If the UN conflict keeps smoldering, it may lead to a new world war. Jackson has outlined the life story of a man who is going to be the release of captured soldiers. The plane returns it into a show, but up to: Will the return be?

the man up to next year's scheduled elections. World governments have lodged token protests, but with the usual effect. The generals have ignored justice and decency for long, why should they change now?

Global what?

An alarming new report issued by a group of British researchers is worse than global warming: the biggest health threat of the 21st century. It predicts that rising temperatures will cause diseases like malaria to spread further, lead to worldwide shortages of food and water, and push deadly

FACE OF THE WEEK



JOCKEY Calvin Broadus takes the horse Rachel Alexandra across the finish line to win the Preakness Stakes in Baltimore, Md.

jack. Health Canada has recalled the cups, warning they could break if hit and cause "an eye injury to the wearer."

New ball and chain

Carrying your trigger to prepare for courts can be a difficult feat. Unless, of course, you're a gunner is chained up as the first prize the new "Sticky Ball"—a 2.5 lb. press-style ball and chain designed to hang around your chest and in your hands for up to four hours. The device comes with its own countdown clock, and the ankle harness won't unlock until the experts

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MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON THE PICTURE THAT TOOK YEARS TO GET, WHY THE RUBY DHALLA STORY'S NOT BIG IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND HOW BOB RAE BEAT IGITIEFF IN THE PARLIAMENTARIANS OF THE YEAR AWARDS

GILLES DUCEPPE'S SHORT-LIVED ACTING CAREER

At the third annual Maribou Parliamentarians of the Year awards gala, like Leader Gilles Duceppe was runner-up for most knowledgeable MP and best actor. He found the latter recognition "funny, because in Quebec they are saying I am not that good an actor. But here, I am very good." Duceppe comes from a family passionate about the arts and film. When asked if that had influenced his oratorical skills, he said: "You need good actor at all. I can't play a role. It did only come for a Christmas school [in Grade 6] as his Catholic school [the] man had the play Saint Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, which is the most awful role for a man to play—the husband of a virgin!" The award gala was hosted by Maribou parliamentarians Paul Wells and Le Devoir columnist and Lacrosse magazine contributor Murray Considine. Speaker Peter Wilson did the honours. Bob Rae won best actor but could not attend—in his place he sent Toronto-Globe MP Kasey Duncan to fetch his award. In 2007, when Michael Ignatieff won for best actor, he sent Ruby Dhalla as his behalf. Toronto Liberal MP Rob Olynyk, who voted for Rae as best actor, said the reason Rae beat Ignatieff that year was that as leader "Michael didn't have as much time in the House. He gets more floor time." Ontario NDP MP Joe Comartin won, for the second year in a row, the award for most knowledgeable MP. He used his new place to extol the extremely heavy awards in his Windsor, Ont., a place he'd been past recipient his first stint with a recent solid one. For the third year in a row Nova Scotia NDP member O'Brien won most in legal. In second place was Liberal whip Rodger Cuzner, who noted "I

guess I've got to drink a little more [to best Shelley]." Cuzner said he wasn't surprised that fellow-Globe Paul Stasto was runner-up for hardest working MP. Stasto sends new MPs a three-page letter filled with things they need to watch out for. "He wants to see everyone succeed," says Cuzner. Halifax NDP MP Megan Leslie won for best rookie. Montreal Liberal MP and far right nationalist Marc Gendron placed second in that category. At the gala, Leslie said that when she was 15 she came to Ottawa with friends on program Exchanges with Canada for their science and technology week. One of the highlights for her was seeing Gendron at the Canada Aviation Museum. "I really wanted to get my picture taken with him but I was too shy," recalls Leslie. "So I took a picture of him by himself and it's in my photo album!" Twenty years later at the awards gala, Capital Diary swapped the first picture of Leslie and Gendron to gether. The NDP continued to dominate the awards for the third year, which had leader Jack Layton becoming all right. He noted the most knowledgeable MP, Joe Comartin, is his party's peace crane and that the best rookie MP is their deputy justice crane. Layton also had kind words for the winner of Best overall MP, Immigration Minister Jason Kenney: "He's always a guy you can approach. I've always had good relationship with Jason. He's straight up. What you see what you get."

ANOTHER CHIP OFF THE OLD BLOCK

The Black Panther also did well at Maribou. Parliamentarian of the Year pick. He placed third for most colorful MP and fourth for hardest working. Cite has been an MP for nearly 16



new organization. The group's organizer is Liberal Whipping MP Anne Neville. The Whipping don't know of the leadership group association from the fact that Whipping is home to the second largest Filipino community after Toronto. One of the first orders of business for the group was to get the message. Someone forgot the "s" at the end of Philip pinoson the document brought to the first meeting. Philip pinoson's brother Jose Brillantes spoke to the new group. He noted that the Dhalla story, while getting some coverage in the Philippines, was not making headlines there. That, he says, is because there are much more horrifying stories of alleged Filipino abuse than out of the Middle East. He ran then, he says, has been physically beaten and "he with some." The complaints of abuse brought and what's wrong don't seem pure. And speaking of the story publishing the names they had been the Dhalla household, one Canadian tabloid says, "With all the news Ruby has, she wouldn't mind if she was polished—she always wore new Lacoste when I saw her."

PAGES TAKE ON MPs

The House of Commons pages once again took on MPs at their annual soccer match. Former Liberal leader Stéphane Dion assisted. Education Minister Mike Loefer getting the first goal. Dion was also a popular choice when it came to pop requests for individual photos with the MPs. In the end, the MPs were mostly out of the game. NDP MP Peter Griffin once again played goalie. He is the MPs' only goalie and he's been the candidate for the year last time he broke his hand. The referee for the game was Nicolas Deslauriers, who plays soccer for himself and also works in the Public Health shop. The MPs had

some other friends, Liberal MP Alex Alesandria. Two women also played. Usually the MPs are lucky if they have one female player. Whipping Terry Shelley Glover played her first match. Glover, a police officer in a lower, coached soccer for many years. Toronto Liberal MP Martha Hall Findlay, who played in last year's match, returned and won MVP of the game. She scored two goals, and along the winning goal in the last minutes of the game.

GERM WARFARE ON THE HILL

After weeks of online flu pandemic rumors, the buildings on Parliament Hill have finally noticed their first hint of defense. All entrances now have bright fluorescent hand sanitizer. Van cover Liberal MP Healy Fry, who is also a family physician with over 100 baby deliveries to her name, notes that politicians are a high risk group because of all their hand shaking. "I have seen MPs come to committee, shake everyone's hand and then catch for a breed roll," notes Fry, who keeps a small bottle of hand sanitizer with her at all times. Hand-washing instructions have also been posted in HCO back rooms, but Fry says the images leave out the importance of washing between your fingers. ■

Maribou hosted the Parliamentarians of the Year event in association with the Commission for International Development. The presenting sponsor was Fairbridge, supporting sponsors were TD Financial Group (RBC), the Canadian Wildlife Foundation, the Canadian Wildlife Foundation (CWF), the Canadian Wildlife Foundation (CWF), and CWF. Sports Canada was the associate sponsor.

ON THE WEB For more Ottawa coverage, visit our website at: capitalmagazine.ca or www.capitalmagazine.ca

RUBY DHALLA AND HER SHOES

Last week, parliamentarians ate out at the Canadian Parliament Parliamentarian of the Year gala. It was slightly ironic, as that's how she was known to them, in House 216 West Block, is the office of Ruby Dhalla, the Liberal MP leading her political career to the end

of accusations by three Filipino women of power with children in the Dhalla household. The controversial now-leading group are NDP Whipping MP Judy Whalley, NDP and Whipping Conservative MP Rod Blomquist. Whalley and Blomquist are now a trade show. Whalley and Blomquist's husband's matching Philippine shirt to Ben Blomquist for the celebration of the

JASON KENNEDY with Maribou's columnist Andrew Cynne (center), clockwise from top left: Marc Gendron, Megan Leslie, Maribou's publisher Kenneth Whyte (right), Joe Comartin, Gilles Duceppe, party guests, Alessandro Minetti, soccer player Rod Blomquist, Joe Blomquist, Julie Whalley-Lewis, Healy Fry, Rod Griffin, Ernesto Acosta, Neville (left), Maribou Post (right), Dhalla's office



A new coalition, a different politics



ANDREW COYNE

It would be a stretch to claim that Gordon Campbell received much of a "roadshow" in last week's British Columbia election. With 46 per cent of the vote, in an election that swung out left, for the first time, to less than 50 per cent, Campbell is the choice of barely one in five electors.

Still, it is enough enough that he was not defeated. Not only was Campbell's Liberals seeking their term, in honour voters have historically proved unwilling to bestow, but as the incumbents in a successive year election, they were fighting daunting odds. His son might make opposition parties in other parts of the country sit up straight: if they were under any illusion that they had only to show up, and the company would carry them to power, they can think again.

If anything, the economy seemed to be a plan for Campbell's voters purchase credit as a competitor of economic managers who had slashed cuts and balanced the books. Even the hope was deficit in the February budget did not provide a backlash, his own balanced budget legislation notwithstanding. No doubt this reflected a general public tolerance for

mid-risk, given the state of the economy. But as important was the way he handled it. If he did not make any drastic shifts in fiscal policy to avert a deficit, another did he deliberately expand it, or try to pretend that deficits were now a virtue.

And, to signal that his principles remained intact—that the exception was not about to become the rule—Campbell made no attempt to rescind the legislation, or to evade its penalties. He said he would make the prescribed 10 per cent cut in pay. Compared that to Dalton McGuinty's consequences free overturning of similar legislation in Ontario.

This is, I think, the real message of Campbell's victory: correction politics is back. Big ideas, taking risks, sticking to your guns—all those things that had seemed to pass, in this season of incrementalism, may not be so politically fool as all that. You cannot on policy change, and win.

I'm talking, of course, about Campbell's carbon tax, the first such tax of any kind in North America (Quebec's is barely notable), and among the most comprehensive in the world. Wildly unpopular at first, and hardly beloved today, it may not have been the centerpiece of his campaign, but it certainly was the NDP's. Yet it did not, in the

end, seal his defeat. It may even have helped him win.

Let's just pause on that first point: In stark Canadian elections, it seemed, bold was out. Whether it was John Tory's promise to fund religious schools in Ontario, or Sol Price Don's "green shift," or John Howard's agenda, the public's answer in every case was no. You can put together the advice the political press were offering their clients: don't do it. Don't say anything, just sit tight, and hope the other guys do first themselves.

Against this background, Campbell's victory is highly significant. It isn't just that he won; it's how he won. On the surface, after all, Campbell's signature policy was something very like what Don proposed: a shift from taxing income to taxing carbon, with no net increase in taxes. But whereas Don's plan was weighed down with exceptions, rebates, and unrelated redistribution programs, Campbell's "green shift" was the real deal. Every dollar in carbon tax revenue was retained in cuts to personal and corporate income taxes.

But it's the latter possibility that is the most intriguing: that Campbell may have won, not in spite of the carbon tax, but because of it. If this election comes in name to be seen as the watershed event in Canadian politics I think it is, it will be for this: that a right-leaning politician could claim ownership of the environmental issue, that he could make not a leadership position, rather than simply following along the line established by conservatism, and, crucially, that he could do so in ways that did not compromise or contradict his free-market principles, but enhanced them.

Others have noted the discomfort Campbell's embrace of the carbon tax caused the NDP's under attack throughout the campaign by its traditional environmental allies. Less commented upon was the degree to which he was able to draw those kinds of voters to his own party. Simply put, Campbell has reinvigorated the conservative coalition. The old coalition, between economic liberals (in the free-market sense) and social conservatives, was always in uneasy state: three interests and values were too often at odds. But a coalition of free-market and conservative nationalism is a more natural fit—if only conservatives would realize it.

A whole generation of environmentalism has grown up who "get" the market: who understand its uses as an instrument in pursuing social goals through individual choices. That, after all, is what the market does every day. Conventionally, this is understood in terms of efficiency: price signals lead each of us to economize in his set of scarce resources in such a way so as to maximize the output of



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society. But it's just as applicable to environmental concerns like global warming. Indeed, the two problems—economic and ecological—are essentially the same. It's all about our eating waste.

A carbon tax simply expands the range of information those price signals convey, incorporating environmental risk that has previously been overlooked on the cost of society. There's an economic novelty ("free-market ideology") much spoken of. It's the fallibility of it. Indeed, having established the market's bona fides when it comes to the environment, Campbell may get a better hearing for market solutions to other problems.

Campbell may well have pointed the way forward for conservative politics. He has broadened the base, not by going back on his conservative principles, but by deepening his commitment to them. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at www.mackinnon.ca/andrewpotter

Tax freedom? What a lot of rubbish.



ANDREW POTTER

What is it about springtime tax-cutting government types go high-headed? As millions of Canadians from coast to coast were getting ready to celebrate the Victoria Day weekend by toasting the cottage, firing up the barbecue, or—cr—cr—cr—checking hockey, the Canadian Taxpayers Federation took the opportunity to declare May 14 "Gas Tax Hate Day."

Designed to "kick off the summer travel season for Canadian motorists" by reminding us of "the high tax component hidden in the price of gasoline," this year's annual holiday contest—according to CTF propaganda—"events" across the country. The highlight event was a tax-buster down at the holiday-themed Big Shopping Spree in Toronto that featured CTF director Kevin Gaudin engaging in such summer fun activities as... releasing a report on gas taxes and... demanding that gas taxes be lowered.

Fun, hauck, these libertarians! Anyway, don't worry if you missed Gas Tax Haterday Day. In just a few weeks, the Fraser Institute will announce its always anticipated Tax Freedom Day, an annual watershed that marks

the moment when Canadians have collectively "paid off the tax to toll depend on them by government, and can finally start working for themselves."

What these two holidays share is a rhetorical strategy designed to make taxation seem like something fundamentally alien, at odds with the interests of the average person. The underlying message is not that some taxes may be too high, or that the share of taxation may be unevenly distributed. Instead, it is that all taxes are essentially confiscatory, an unfair and probably illegitimate transfer of income to the state from its rightful owner, the private citizen.

It's all a load of nonsense, resting on a mistaken premise: that the private sector is the producer of wealth, and the public sector is the consumer: what the corporations produce, the government takes away. Except—as University of Toronto philosopher Joseph Roach argues in his excellent new book, *Fiddly Lumpy*—taxpayers who produce real consumer wealth. The market and the state merely coordinate—each in their own way—our production and consumption of this wealth. To put the point simply: the market is a device for providing us with private goods, like running shoes and maid services, while the state is there to provide us with public goods—like national defence and weekly garbage pickup.

Listening to the relentlessly shrill right-wing rhetoric, you'd forget that any Canadian ever derived a single benefit from their tax dollars. An especially egregious example of this grumbling was a pre-tax deadline release from the Fraser Institute in late April, which lamented the fact that today, the average Canadian family spends nearly half its total income as taxes—"more than it spends on food, clothing, and shelter."

At the heart of the study was an irrelevant contrast with similar figures from 1965, when Canadians spent barely a third of their total income on taxes. As Michel Mollath, the study's co-author put it: "The tax burden faced by Canadians extends well beyond income tax. When you add up all the taxes Canadians pay to all levels of government, the typical family is sending more of its income to government than it spends on basic necessities."

Only the Fraser Institute could sell it as a bad thing that we spend less of our incomes on basics like food and shelter than we used to. But if it's invidious to compare you are after, why look only as far back as 1965? Today, the

average North American spends about 10 percent of disposable income on food alone. In 1970 it was more like 21 per cent.

Meanwhile, the daily necessities since 1961 are abundant. Just Canadians spend collectively providing ourselves with national defence and other forms of security, health insurance, unemployment insurance, pensions, clean air and water, consumer protection, infrastructure, research and education, and other public goods has skyrocketed, increasing by 1,783 per cent per family.

The tax "burden" was so much lower then, wasn't it? Sure, but so was life expectancy. Despite what the Fraser Institute wants you to think this is what is known as progress, and only in the bizarre world of taxistas of anti-conservatives could a society where families spend over half their income on private necessities be considered preferable to the one we have today.

As happens, the least surprising to most holidays like Gas Tax Haterday and Tax Freedom Day is the curious persistence of the "Buy Nothing Day." Held each November on what is supposedly the busiest shopping day of the year in the U.S., this annual celebration of anti-consumption takes robust participation to adopt a lasting lifestyle commitment to consuming less stuff and spending less money.

Buy Nothing Day doesn't make a lot of sense either, given the conservatism that for every consumer there must be a corresponding producer. Thus, Buy Nothing Day might as well be called "Earn Nothing Day"—though telling people with bills to pay to stop out on a day of work doesn't quite have the same power as a rallying cry.

Indeed, with its mix of empty populism and economic illiteracy, the anti-government right finds itself uncomfortably close to the anti-market left. Both are peddling economic half truths and outright fallacies in the service of their respective, but ultimately near-identical ideologies.

The main difference of course is that while the left is generally expected to be economically illiterate, the right is supposed to be more honest. There's logic in economics, you might say. This is why, when it comes to the rhetorical strategies of Canada's libertarian movement, it is hard to avoid concluding that the doctrine is deliberate. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at www.mackinnon.ca/andrewpotter

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drugs—pills, needles, other accoutrements. So the people the doctors care about are the people the researchers study, are those who keep using drugs and don't stop right into their skin. That's maybe 10 to 20 percent of [addicts], and they have already decided our picture of the natural history of addiction. From the data I've seen, it looks like people who meet the criteria for addiction actually stop using by age 30.

Q Why would respected and established scientists make generalizations about drug dependence based on such a small subset?

A I've thought a lot about that, and my sense is that this subset fit what people believed before they started studying. It squares nicely with this notion that addiction was either bad behavior or sick behavior. I don't push this too hard. I think, everybody knows that clinical populations can be biased. There's even a name for it—Barlow's bias. People who come to clinics for a certain disorder are likely to add to the list of additional disorders.

Q Still, the broader epidemiological surveys you cite have been available for anyone who could look. Why do you think they were ignored?

A Well, I only looked at this data because I was studying this course. I like I had it. If you're doing research looking at, say, calcium channels in individual neurons, you have to make sure that you're not going to be too much of the epidemiological literature. You don't start making too much sense of it. But in the end, I don't think it's unreasonable, and one of the goals of my book is to bring the research world's attention to data that has been sitting there for 30 years. In some cases, the data didn't fit in with what the people who sponsored the surveys say addiction is. The National Institute on Drug Abuse and National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism funded all the studies I cite. But NIDA and NIAAA have not taken the next steps of those studies to heart.

Q Let's talk about the rift of chronic addiction. Your argument depends on the idea that a person can be involuntarily addicted to a behavior that is self-destructive. Can you explain this phenomenon?

A My analysis is based on the fact that there are people that "lose" their mind to make choices. We can take into consideration the make it that at the moment—the immediate rewards. We become under the control of a cascade of depending consequences that each of us or choices has. Your pattern of choices can be much different depending on whether you take into consideration the broader costs. A workaholic, for example, starts out taking

into account only the immediate demands of working, dropping other considerations. But he ends up, according to himself and everybody around him, working too much. The model just tries to formalize that idea, and it's really just common sense.

Q So when people are choosing the drug, they're thinking that power, or that particular day, would be better if they did. A chronic smoker will think that the next three minutes would be better with a cigarette than without. But size is a year of smoking 20 cigarettes per day, adding up to 60 minutes each day, you might think, 70 rather than the 60 minutes of not smoking each day? Unfortunately, you don't choose consequences at a time. You decide one cigarette or three minutes at a time, and that's what makes this so difficult.

Q So as we get older, we learn to recognize that our sequence, and weight, time against other things we might spend our time.

A Right. Your preferences at the moment are different from what I'll call a global perspective, and they can undermine that global perspective. That's why I'm actually in favor of drug individualization. Many of these programs help people through the very difficult periods of choosing things at the moment, as at a time.

Q Your text is even and your presentation is explicit, but there are implications to all this. It's like spending ideas that have had scientific currency since the First World War. Our government is afraid to spend billions each year testing and trying to prevent drug abuse on the belief it is a disease. Are we going about it all wrong?

A My sense is that we could be going about it a lot better. It's possible that the reason we're not making much progress and we're not treating diseases making this only. These are programs that have had considerable success, and they are based on the idea that the consequences of drug use are what's important. There is one far-sighted policy and programs where the success rates are 50 or 90 per cent abstinence, because the negative consequences are so strong [if they fail to abstinence, the addicts lose their jobs].

Q It's harder where the subjects are women.

played, but again it points out the fact that this is a question of alternatives. If programs focused on alternatives, consequences and rewards in a very direct way, maybe they'd be much more efficacious and less expensive.

Q How might such a program work?

A There are successful programs that reward abstinence with vouchers redeemable for modest amounts. In some cases the vouchers allow addicted people to do everyday things like take a cooking class or participate



PHOTOGRAPH BY GREGG A. COOPER

in buying household goods—any mental, healthy, non-drug activity that most people do on their own. Remember, this is a population of people who don't seem able to do these things on their own. So when these options are placed in front of them, they get engaged. In at least one of these studies, the abstinence rate continued to rise even after the voucher program stopped. That suggests that the program's addicts have gotten involved with—outside activities, and programs to help them get along better with their families—begin to take a life of their own. Just as there can be a downward spiral, there can be an upward spiral.

Q What about AA and other 12-step programs? They were created around creating alternatives to a life that competes with the rewards of use.

A AA has been notorious in research circles for two reasons. One is because of the emphasis on its language on faith—"God grant us the power"—and so on. The other is that they have not been so interested in tracking how well they do. I don't know whether they're or not, but they've done nothing to measure their need. In the last few years, people have been able to get some data, and it shows they're as successful as any other program. Ironically, I think AA has actually developed a program that does exactly what we've discussed. It rewards voluntary. You know some body gets up and says, "My name is Ralph. I haven't had a drink for three weeks," and everybody claps. It also creates a social life that is alcohol-free.



'Calling addiction a sickness seems a more humane thing to say, and people like to be humane'

One of the biggest fears for alcoholics is that they won't have a social life, that their social life is embedded in the consumption of alcohol. AA creates a social structure that involves role models and sponsors, and these are people who get up and talk who are like them and have stopped drinking.

Q The other approach, of course, is to go somewhere and punishment, and I could see your argument being used to justify regional drug laws or harsher penalties against users. I mean, if we're talking about consequences, and there is a fairly persuasive one.

A I think it's a matter of degree. I mean, how would the consequences add? For most people the idea of going to jail is chilling, and while I haven't studied sentencing law for drug use, my hunch is they're much more scared of that.

And I think those things can be very important. In the U.S., when the anti-drug war was just going on in 1964, say, drug smoking was bad for your health, it had an impact. Everybody knew it couldn't be good for you. But when it became official, people actually began to stop smoking. So those are the sort of things you would have to consider [regarding self-rejection etc.], you would have to weigh them against the public health advantages, and I think it would be a very hard decision. It would take a long time to get enough data, and I'm not sure the data would ever be good enough to provide the right answer. That would drive people a mental judgment to make.

Q You explain terms in the book that are philosophical—about philosophy, in nature. The research community, you point out, doesn't apply words like "voluntary" or "involuntary" with such consistency. Is it true for some reason or an understanding of these ideas?

A I hope my book has been my colleagues in research, as well as the public, that we can talk about things like "voluntary" and "involuntary" behavior in ways that are sensible. We can test whether behavior is modified by its consequences.

Q How has genetic theory—the idea that behaviors like drug dependence are determined by biology—shaped this debate?

A There was an initial dark period. The initial impulse was to say that nothing that is disordered in our behavior is voluntary—that everything is a disease. But we're gradually discovering that things which are clearly voluntary, like religion beliefs, have a hereditary ability. So people are going to say, also, it's not that voluntary behaviors are non-biological and involuntary ones are biological. It's just that they have different wiring, and the wiring for voluntary ones are more complicated. The neurons are influenced by consequences as well as by preceding biological constraints. Genetics plays a big role in voluntary behavior, but our brains are wired so that certain things can be influenced by rewards and punishments.

Q You must be expecting some pushback from other addiction researchers.

A I worry about that more than I do. A lot of these are people I know and they're my friends, so I don't know how that's going to play out. But I've written some articles that have been published that are very much along this line, and there are behavioral economists and some people who run addiction programs who are very supportive. I think the rest of the addiction world has just ignored it, in academia and science, people just tend to ignore that which they disagree with, unless they're forced to confront it.

Q There's also the matter of putting the supervisor of government on something it

can't control. And I think those things can be very important. In the U.S., when the anti-drug war was just going on in 1964, say, drug smoking was bad for your health, it had an impact. Everybody knew it couldn't be good for you. But when it became official, people actually began to stop smoking. So those are the sort of things you would have to consider [regarding self-rejection etc.], you would have to weigh them against the public health advantages, and I think it would be a very hard decision. It would take a long time to get enough data, and I'm not sure the data would ever be good enough to provide the right answer. That would drive people a mental judgment to make.

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TAKING AIM AT IGNATIEFF

The first shot in the coming Tory war to define their opponent

BY ANDREW WHERRY • In the endless line game of official Ottawa, they are known as SOGIs. It's a reference to Standing Order 11 of Parliament, which allows that in raising his or her side before question period each day for MPs to read in the House and make brief remarks about a subject of their choosing. For the most part, members use the time to make contributions, elaborate on points, or make statements of national or international importance.

When they finished Stéphane Dion to kick around, the Conservative government took great pleasure in making the former Liberal leader before he rose to ask another mildly worded question of the Prime Minister. And though they waited a few days before doing likewise with Dion's successor, a newly successful Conservative backbencher has been sent up to denigrate Michael Ignatieff and his party since he took the leader's job last October, despite an attempt recently by the speaker to limit personal attacks during this time, government MPs have used more than 180 of these slots to ridicule the Liberal side in the 12 weeks since Parliament resumed adjournment—several campaigns that reached a particular low when Ron Caouette rose on the afternoon of April 20 and attempted to segue from a personal guarantee of confidence in Liberal Minister Deslauriers about the deadly Italian earthquake.

"Mr. Speaker, I too add my condolences to the folks in Italy. Our prayers and thoughts go out to all those folks in Italy," Caouette said. "But there is an earthquake happening in our own country. I would like to remind Canada as when the Liberal leader sat on April 14, just last week, and I quote, 'We will have no more lies.' A day later, the Conservative MP rose in the House, apologized for his remarks and asked that 'this accusation not be explored further as it would only serve to prolong the pain of people who have lost loved ones.'"

By such standards, the launch last week of a new Conservative advertising campaign—unveiled as an off-the-record briefing on a new issue—wasn't the Prime Minister's spokesman, though both seemed to be on-message from their government's desire—was relatively generic. But was television and the Internet, the Conservatives intend to make



IGNATIEFF'S TORIES were widely successful in defining Dion, Ignatieff may prove more difficult.

the myriad questions about Ignatieff's capabilities and history difficult to ignore. And so where those SOGIs might be dismissed as mere parliamentary bromides, Michael Ignatieff now faces a legitimacy test of his and his party's ability to control his image. "The line is he's just missing. That's the tag line that things want to focus on," says Tom Powers, a political strategist who has worked with the Conservatives in the past. "That's his arrogance and his absolute parody an answer as self and not in nature. And I think the answer is, whether you like the Prime Minister or not, when you compare him to Iggy, you do at least know he's interested in Canada, he's spent his whole life working to improve public policy here and Ignatieff is about Ignatieff. I think that sort of self-interest and non-Canadian like behavior is some-

thing that needs to be gotten out of him, as a set-up for the legislature, heavy contract that will come if and when Iggy ever comes out with a policy."

Stephane Harper's ads were, of course, widely successful in defining Stéphane Dion by the time last Friday's election was through, his middle name right as well have been "Not A Leader." While Dion tried to claim the high road, his lack of a suitable response as new ground was set as the beginning of his career. The Liberals must take time around it will go to Ignatieff. That the conservative issue was not Dion's point from the Conservatives' circles. That Canadians already have an idea about who Ignatieff is and what he stands for. And that the party will take "what ever steps are necessary" in response.

When after a question was asked on the coming of Ignatieff, Ignatieff made a first attempt at reacting to it. "On a day when we have just second-hand reports, we have just an impression of something, all the government can think of is to make a statement about it," he said. "This is the old style of politics. We are in the middle of a serious economic crisis. The government needs to grow up and do its job properly." A day later, he headlined his campaign at a speech in Toronto, taking specific aim at the suggestion that his time outside Canada says something about his commitment to the country. "Let me say to you, I've seen our country from the outside. As a father, as a teacher, as a war reporter, I've seen Canada from afar. And when you see Canada from afar—when you see our unity and our purpose and our strength—you see a country that is proud of its diversity, that is strong, and united in its diversity, that is an inspiration to the whole world," he said. "Stephane Harper doesn't understand that."

Having spoken on lofty notes about unity when he officially assumed the Liberal leadership last month, Ignatieff has, for the moment, a renewed air of dignity and grace with which

doing or not doing. And so the once remains with the Liberals. And he says they're "the only party that can stand the Conservative campaign. The voters will say they follow, though the Liberals say they will not. From personally attacking the Prime Minister. I'd like to see their own internal purposes they have to be seen as responding," Powers says. "Part of the thing with these ads is they are partisan reinforcement vehicles. So if Ignatieff wants to signal to his party that he is not Dion and that he is standing firm and strong and wants to reinforce his own message, then they need to do something."

Much will depend on Ignatieff himself. Whether he has experienced in his life to date, his past perhaps have been to publicly challenged. The way he responds will ultimately be the fate. "Will he play to type?" Powers asks. "I think the effectiveness of any communication campaign. You're creating a narrative, and the success of the narrative is based on the behavior and performance of the central character."

An early preview of a formal campaign through Ignatieff and his brother's diverse set of official media or even knowledge of

those side or a message of great interest in Canada from the last 10 years, with a looker that remains beyond Ignatieff's work here to see those—beyond the (usual) three of the official Conservative campaign. Others go specifically to the question of economic leadership. The Conservatives like the Liberals, claim Ignatieff's work is not their own, nor sustained by the party.

One Conservative spokesman, however, uses the phrase "my of the teacher" to place the first round of official ads in context. From off his left behind the longer of paper trails from which, it is said, any number of quotes can apparently be plucked for partisan purpose. Then, of course, there are the words he's uttered more recently.

The Conservatives have taken particular interest in a response Ignatieff offered, as a forum weeks ago, to a question about who might be doing to get the swiftness of the deal. And in addition to those SOGIs, the government has, of late, taken to periodically using some of the questions it is asked on QP each day to target their credibility plays, where abouts when one up to ask a flow. Conservatives for the government's opinion of Ignatieff's various beliefs. "It has been said



Photo: The Canadian Press



THE ATTACK ADS ARE JUST 'THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG,' SAYS ONE TORY. IGNATIEFF HAS A LONG PAPER TRAIL OF REMARKS TO USE.

in contrast himself. But then this is still a fight on Harper's terms. "Currently I've heard from across Canada that don't like the ads. They think that they are a little unfairly in a manner they don't like: comfort from because they sort of question his alleged Canadianism," Powers says. "But when they see they're saying, that means they're actually thinking about it too. I think the ads force people to think a lot about who Michael Ignatieff is." Michael Ignatieff, Ignatieff's press secretary, considers the ability of attack ads to commandeer the discussion. "The more time you spend talking about attack ads, the less time you spend talking about the government and what they are

the original source—might be found in a series of supposedly promotional looking clips posted on YouTube by an anonymous entity called itself GirlGirl. With the copy of one clip that reads the Prime Minister's alleged visit to the bedrooms at the G20 meeting last month, the ads are only as to Conservative management of the economy, often offering the public services of Harper and Finance Minister Jim Flaherty with an eye on job losses and contradictory expert analysis. Conservatives claimed those clips as the reason for their own ads. But, in March, a notorious senator named they've had already proposed to replace his own series of regularly professional looking clips. One of

a very damaging and worthless. I considered him for his words and I quote them. 'We will have no more lies' or 'The man going to take a GST hike on the table' or 'I am a national expert, I've been in the Liberal'." He has the ability with words and his and his sense of humor come in time to explain which ones he will press, by how much and who will have to pay."

Though at first widely feared by such displays, Ignatieff has seemed to be laughing at the alleged indignation. At the risk of sounding arrogant, he may need such confidence. Because just as the latest ads are hardly the sum of the campaign against him, they rarely don't represent the end. ■



PAUL MARTIN could teach Michael Ignatieff a thing or two about public appearance for change

The political peril of sitting on a lead



PAUL WELLS

The scandal here in Ottawa—from senior Conservatives, turned old servants, people who know people—goes like this: in a file in regard to Stephen Harper. Describes in out the window young staffers, who hoped they were coming into government to do something, are foolish and demoralized.

The Prime Minister's Office is shamed with leaks on the inside and leaky coverage on the outside. This is significant because it represents a change of attitude in the centre. For long after he was elected in 2006, Harper really was a man in the moon, too heavy and determined to worry about ethics. A friend of the Prime Minister's begged to me, in late 2006, that articles from the *Globe* and *Mail* were not even included in the PMO's daily press briefing. Transcripts from talk radio were. Who could have seen any talk radio? She was saying about the people's government anyone?

Well, the *Globe*'s article has finally risen to the Langens Black. For most of its career, a good chunk of time as meetings of cabinet staff has been taken up by complaints about the *Globe* and *Mail*'s coverage. Which would be a substantial waste of the government's most important time, if the government was up to much.

Fortunately the Prime Minister and his associates have plenty of spare time to brood

This Parliament has failed to observe the first 100 days of the session that began in January. A handful of bills passed to law. Almost none to the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act. Amendments to the Indian Oil and Gas Act. Amendments to the Transportation of Dangerous Goods Act. Recognition of Brethrenhood Cemetery as the National Cemetery of Canada. Solid work, if these were ordinary times. Since they aren't, it isn't.

So it's miserable to ask, as some members of Harper's own government have been doing to guess, what he's going to do. It's been up and down his game face again. And it's less and less surprising when people start speculating about whether he will even bother to stick around long enough to run for re-election.

The Liberals are giddy. Around Michael Ignatieff there is the feeling that Harper is slipping. Surely the new Liberal leader will be able to run a more competent campaign than Stéphane Dion did last year. So the Ignatieff crowd are acting as though all they need to do is wait upon support, and power will be theirs. The centre of the left is in a bit of a behavioural-glitch bandwagon, blantly organizing, deeply confused on questions of real substance, sitting on a lead. It's the dilemma status of the presumptive winner.

And I think it's premature. Political circles have lately perched up a few hundred members of what was in this country in 1993 and 2004, did not two times

Canadians dropped to change the party wings of their federal government. And what it's like now isn't what it was like then.

Brian Mulroney's day of assassination before the Oil phase commission on Mulroney's death with Karlheinz Schenker was like some kind of freshly dug fresh hole to his personal prison cell. We put up with nine years of the guy, the uncertain tone, the sounds of grief, the end less baroque explanations for absolutely everything. And he put it to the service of a succession of fresh holes, drug-out national contributions—our first trial, the GST, Meech Lake, Charlottetown—each profoundly more divisive than any national debate we've had in any decade since 1999 to today.

We're getting closer to being able to do the things of Mulroney's policies, but that's not where we were in 1993. In 1993 just about everyone in the country felt like it had been broken with the first trial on an end. Canadians were desperate for a change, and whether it was Blair, Reform or Liberal, they didn't care who they changed to.

Flash forward to 2006. Some deal. The life and death of a few years of good faith and continued news by filing on one another like a bad day. They mostly ignored you and me after 2006 because they were too busy playing dirty tricks against one another. Then a nasty scandal from a Conservative came to light. Then Paul Martin appointed a commission to look at the details of that scandal for months on end, live on TV.

Again, we can have a juicy day about the relative merits of Clinton and Obama, the glory of the open-source world, the lives of virtue and clarity Martin brought to the rest of his job, all of it. But again, my point isn't about how we feel about these people today. It's about how we felt in 2006. After five years of corruption, misdeeds and evading responsibility. Pretty easy to see the back of the Liberals, is how.

This is not where the country is today. I've made no secret of these pages that for months now I don't think we've been doing the best of Stephen Harper. But for more than 20 years ago, Canadians voted in federal elections have a firm in the halls of changing governments quietly on balance, all things considered. No, it's more brutal than that. We risk with incumbents or we risk them out in a bit of rebellion. Harper isn't want our welcome to really the extent the Progressive Conservatives had in 1993, or the Liberals in 2006. Conservative-run Ontario should look up. They got it out of the game. Yes. ■

ON THE WEB: For more on Paul Wells visit his blog at www.mackinnon.ca/ukimnews

Law society looks after its own

BY RAE KURAN • Canada's law societies regulate the legal profession in the public interest, but the public interest, and that of lawyers, aren't always the same. This was made glaringly apparent on May 17, when the Court of Appeal of New Brunswick upheld a decision finding that province's law society deliberately shut a title insurance provider out of the local land title search business. "Members of the law society are not happy within the macrocosm on what has traditionally been the work of lawyers," the trial judge said in his decision back in 2003.

Title insurance, which protects a lawyer's certificate of title by insuring a homebuyer's interest in the property, may save consumers time and money. When First Canadian Title Co. (FCTC) came to New Brunswick, lawyers there in a doublet of the province almost half of them practised as property law. In a later cited court decision, one law society member maintained the "the law society is not interested in the success of FCTC" of an outside company trying to fill its pockets "with New Brunswick dollars." (FCTC is a subsidiary of First American Title Co.)

An issue in the lawsuit was a new professional standard, introduced in 1999, which required a lawyer to be present when consumers were affected for the sale or mortgage of a property, or converted the trade to a new electronic system. In a decision upheld by the Court of Appeal, the trial judge found that, by introducing this standard, the law society was looking after its members' interests instead of the public.

Paul Pilon is the vice chair of the Canadian Bar Association's national ethics and professional issues committee, and is associate professor at the University of the Pacific's McGeorge School of Law. It's rare for a Canadian court to step in and challenge a law society's authority, which makes the judge more especially noteworthy, he says. "This throws a whole lot of sunshine on the issue of the law society's macrocosm view, at least in this case," Pilon adds. "And it's not a good story."

The decision has all kinds of shoring-up the law of the land with the exception of holding the courts as best that developers never imagined to be required beyond their 18- to 24-month lifespan. Twice, the city has sought assistance from the courts. "We were starting to see the potential for collapse of the banks," says David Griffiths, the city's manager of building regulations, of one such pit. "We're anxious to see these things progress."

Calgary's sinkholes multiply



'They're not sure where all the earth went,' said one woman

BY NICHOLAS KOHLER • Last week, a Calgary lander strolling through her building's parking lot discovered that the front drive of a pickup truck had mysteriously slipped beneath the asphalt and was dangling down a deep, narrow crater. "The dirt just disappeared," she said "and the earth went." They're not sure where all the earth went. It was Calgary's latest sinkhole.

Two weeks earlier, the city had evacuated a home that officials feared was structurally compromised by another drain that opened up under the earth. It resulted in three deaths and three injuries. Earlier in the month a third sinkhole, associated with a financially troubled downtown condo project, had resulted in one city property to threaten its residents through a crack, forcing its close for a week.

Indeed, across downtown Calgary, old and damaged infrastructure may be the cause of several sinkholes that are appearing in the city. For the first time in over a decade, an seismic hard times have pushed the city to the edge—16 of them—requiring that developers look after their sealed project sites. Last fall, officials identified no large pits, projects worth over \$10 million in potential risks worthy of monitoring. That list has since been pared down to a dozen or so critical.

The decision has all kinds of shoring-up the law of the land with the exception of holding the courts as best that developers never imagined to be required beyond their 18- to 24-month lifespan. Twice, the city has sought assistance from the courts. "We were starting to see the potential for collapse of the banks," says David Griffiths, the city's manager of building regulations, of one such pit. "We're anxious to see these things progress."

Critics stoke hijab debate in Quebec

BY MARTIN PATRICHON • Usually, an engagement with the governmental power through a policy initiative is a step in the right direction. But in a step in the right direction, an engagement with the governmental power through a policy initiative is a step in the right direction. But in a step in the right direction, an engagement with the governmental power through a policy initiative is a step in the right direction.

La Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ) recently announced its opposition to the ban on "religious attire" from government offices, schools and hospitals, which would effectively allow the wearing of turbans or headscarves by public employees. Through such law, the FFQ, which is the largest women's rights organization in Quebec, is not, however, this question doesn't apply in Quebec when Muslims and the sharia probably debate over reasonable accommodations for women.

The decision is reinforced, declared Le Devoir, relating to the two-year crusade on the place of religious minorities in Quebec society. This move is terrible even more so to Quebec's National Assembly, where



An outcry sparked by a call not to ban 'religious attire'

opposition parties urged the governing Liberals to withdraw the FFQ initiative.

So in Quebec, the debate over the wearing of religious attire is a step in the right direction. But in a step in the right direction, an engagement with the governmental power through a policy initiative is a step in the right direction. But in a step in the right direction, an engagement with the governmental power through a policy initiative is a step in the right direction. But in a step in the right direction, an engagement with the governmental power through a policy initiative is a step in the right direction.

BORDERLINE BREAKDOWN

Border security is still a very sore point in Canada-U.S. relations

BY LOIRA ON SAVAGE • The present race

after the election of President Barack Obama will really repair the strains in Canada-U.S. relations, says under way this month when the secretary of homeland security, Janet Napolitano, comes to visit. The announcement of land border security was the last eight years came to symbolize the some relations between Ottawa and the Bush administration. The almost 5,000 km of friendly frontier, and gateway to \$1.6 billion in trade per day, turned into another front in the war on terror, patrolled by now armed guards and unannounced drives, riddled with new regulations that business complains tie up trade, and as of June 1, a passport requirement for the first time. From the Canadian point of view, it was the work largely of an overzealous American administration and Congress taking a series of unilateral actions. "The previous attitude was that any additional step that could be taken should be taken without regard for merit," Public Safety Minister Peter Van Loan told *Maclean's*. Like many Canadians, he hopes that will change under Obama. "Now we want to focus on security that is actually effective, and addresses root security threats—counterterrorism, the drug trade, organized crime, transnational issues—and we want to find ways to improve the flow of goods across the border."

But from the U.S. point of view, the last eight years boiled under different. The world changed as 9/11, and Americans and Canadians reacted with what Paul Rosenow, a former senior Department of Homeland Security official who worked on border issues under George W. Bush, diplomatically refers to as "a different sense of urgency." He says, "Canada and Washington will find ways to deal with the differences under Obama as they did under Bush. One of the things I've learned is that there is a lot of overlap that Canadians and Americans are a lot like each other view things like trade and border terms." Rosenow used to in an interview "I'd they simply are not." Where Canadians see U.S. unilateralism, Americans see Canadian



JANET NAPOLITANO got off to a rough start as Obama's secretary of homeland security

complacency. On both sides, there was an erosion of trust. Can it be rebuilt? "My answer to Secretary Napolitano," says Rosenow, "would be to explore how much of our inability to achieve common objectives with Canada was the product of political issues relating to the Bush administration—and how much of it was fundamental."

Over those eight years, officials, analysts, and business groups in both countries have long talked about moving security efforts away from land border checkpoints to trust and each other to protect the outer edges of North America, known as "perimeter security" or "synchronization." But for all the talk,

the border has grown ever "thicker" and problems have been tackled sporadically. Early indications are that the situation is unlikely to change. Van Loan, who met with Napolitano on March 15 in Washington, has modest expectations. "There is no overly ambitious grand plan because that simply would not fly right now," he says. "If one wanted to do a perimeter approach I don't think there is any appetite for that on the American side. We're looking to make incremental efficiency gains that would not compromise security. We are trying to find ways to make the border work better."

Rosenow, though, argues that the approach

for a North American vision has always been there on the American side—but Canada would not play ball. One case in point, he says, is the issue of small planes. Nearly three years ago, DHS identified "general aviation"—the movement of small, private jets around the world—as a game threat. The theory was that if Osama bin Laden got hold of a nuclear weapon, it would be far too valuable to stuff into a shipping container and load onto a ship

over which he would lose control. Forwards and across the sea, vulnerable to detection, but weather, or even piracy. A more logical way, DHS reasoned, would be to load the lethal cargo onto a private plane piloted by a trusted person, real, for example, for a flight plan for JFK airport, there were over 100,000 flights in 2006.

With that plan in mind, the officials were disabused to see that few of the controls in place for commercial flights existed for private planes. And since



was no ideological screening of such planes or their cargo, nor a security check of pilots. They prepared creating a consolidation of screening points for small planes. This approach the U.S. from Europe and the Middle East would map for refueling and screening in Shannon, Ireland. Other screening points would be located in Bermuda and in Aruba. Seeking to preserve unfettered passage between Canada and the U.S. (and ensuring that once in North America it would be unlikely that a plane could pick up another major Canada), Rosenow, with then DHS chief Michael Chertoff's blessing, approached Canadian officials about participating. The Americans would provide the technological equipment Canada would supply a few customs agents to clear the flight for passage to Canada. The

last, Bermuda and Aruba got the opportunity to sell champagne and Chertoff to the jets who passed through. "It was win-win all around," he says.

The Canadian reaction was rapid, Rosenow says. Officials expressed laziness, but matters changed and so decisions were taken. Nine, three years later, the facilities are being built without Canadian participation. Eventually DHS will have to turn to the question of when to do about small plane flight to Canada, potentially throwing up another layer of security within North America.

Perhaps nothing embodies the difference in views as much as the passport rule that often effect on June 1. From the Canadian perspective, Canada was blindsided by the new regulation, under which adults entering the U.S. must provide a passport or "enhanced" document. It's not that the WTO/Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative) was stuck into a lengthy intelligence reform bill in 2002 without prior notice, also surprising many members of Congress from border states who, like officials at the Canadian Embassy, warned of damage to tourism, trade and the lifestyle

to belong to in earlier, more innocent age. But Canadian officials were concerned that the costs of outfitting Americans and Canadians with passports would damage trans-Canada border tourism—and worsen over the potential conflict and confrontation over the new rule would do to visit times at the border. Michael Wilson, Canada's ambassador, along with border state lawmakers, argued hard to have the implementation deadline delayed until June 1. The thought of a Canadian lawmaker aggressively lobbying against a rule change struck some at DHS as inappropriate—the kind of thing that would have raised levels of outrage if the situation had been reversed. The Americans do think Canadians should have recognized the new reality much sooner and been more creative in finding a more workable solution, at the very least, by the idea of security and "trusted" business owners as determined by 8 C and a handful of border states.

Although critics was a few concessions—including an exemption for children—there could be more tension ahead as the rule comes into effect. Indeed, while DHS has long maintained it is ready to implement the new program, Canadian officials and others are not too confident of American sincerity. New York Rep. Louise Blouin predicts "pure chaos." Van Loan says he expects to see "practical, flexible approach" rather than a zero-tolerance policy for anyone attempting to cross without a passport. "These are serious things you can do—obviously not holding everyone to zero rules on June 1," he says. "Use [the deadline] as an opportunity to educate travelers and use other information to convince people of their identity."

Many fear that the U.S. plans to start treating the Canadian border much like they do the Mexican

Napolitano is expected to visit Canada on May 26, 27, and 28, days before the new passport requirement takes effect, making stops in Ottawa and at the Detroit Windsor border crossing. When her appointment was first announced, it raised hopes among Canadian officials and business groups that a new era was arriving. Her predecessor, Chertoff, was a former judge who headed the criminal division of the Justice Department during 9/11. His law enforcement mentality was seen as a sign of change, but his predecessor, Tom Ridge, the former Pennsylvania governor. While Ridge was seen as a conciliator and co-operative, Chertoff appeared to simply lay down the law. Mike Chertoff, she had been prosecutor in Rhode Island, was a governor, in her case of Arizona, which shares a border with Mexico.

But Napolitano is not too tough on her. First, she needed an "iron director" on the Canada U.S. border. It's not working more than

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request for detailed information about a border with which she was not familiar, but was spun into headlines suggesting she planned a cross-country road trip. Next, she gave an interview in which she seemed to suggest that she believed the 9/11 terrorist came from Canada. She then said she was a reporter (Van Loon knows the secretary was fully aware that the terrorist did not come from Canada because they had

didn't have that kind of machine before and that I think is a very positive step."

Nonetheless, there remains a huge gulf between how Canada and the U.S. treat people and goods coming from North America, one that will remain problematic regardless of how many meetings are held with the secretary of DHS. A big area of difference is refugee policy. There is a perception in Washington that Canadian asylum rules are too lax. But, although Canadian officials say they are not more permissive—each country admits roughly the same proportion of applicants—the big difference is what happens when they arrive. In the U.S., asylum seekers are routinely detained until their cases are decided. In Canada, they are rarely detained, and are allowed to work and receive benefits while their cases are handled. They are also given more opportunities to appeal deportation orders.

An important general report in 2009 found that many of those found to be deportable disappeared and are not removed from the country. (Almond Bessner, the would-be "millionaire border" captain, came to the U.S. with explosives in 1993, was once such a case.)

Osawa has since tried to remedy that, but there is little interest in adopting the draconian heavy U.S. model, which is criticized by some human rights advocates.

The two countries also differ on which countries enjoy visa-free travel status. Canada welcomes more than 50 countries, including many Commonwealth nations, while the U.S. list has just 35 countries. Citizens of Mexico, Costa Rica and Greece, for example, can enter Canada, but not America, without visas. There is little expectation that the differences will be bridged. "I would say that they don't have an appetite for synchronizing with us," says Van Loon. "We do have countries with whom we have visa-free travel. We are not going to adopt the American policy. We are going to develop our policy with Canada's national interests in mind."

Another gap between the two nations is their approach to gathering information from people who intend to enter either country from abroad. The U.S. has increased a lot of money and manpower since 2004 in collecting information about travellers before they arrive in the U.S. On Jan. 12, the U.S. brought in a new program called ESTA (Electronic System for Travel Authorization), which requires people coming from countries that

do not require visas, such as European Union nations, to fill out an electronic travel authorization 72 hours before coming to the U.S. The names are then compared to expected terrorist watch lists; only after they are cleared can they board a plane, and when the travellers land, documents such as all so fingerprints are collected. Canada does not require pre-authorization for travellers, nor does it collect as much information about them, and it does not fingerprint at arrival. Canadian officials say that they are "looking at" copying the American system, but it would require a large investment and would raise all kinds of legal and privacy issues, especially if the information was to be shared with the U.S.

In one personal bright spot, Van Loon says Napitano made a written commitment to reopen talks about setting up pre-clearance facilities for commercial goods at the land border to move customs inspections away from the usual physical border to make the crossing more efficient. A major issue for Canadian and U.S. business groups, it was shared by the Bush administration in part because the two countries could not reach an agreement about whether U.S. officials operating on Canadian soil would have the authority to fingerprint people intending to enter the U.S. but then deciding to turn around and not cross. "We haven't settled on a particular pilot project," Van Loon says. "The Americans are open to looking at it where the Bush administration had closed the door."

But while the negotiations fall apart over the issue of fingerprinting, the concerns at DHS go deeper. DHS lawyers worried about subjecting U.S. pre-clearance activities on Canadian soil to Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms and unpredictable future judicial interpretations of it. For example, while the pre-clearance negotiations were going on, a B.C. provincial court judge ruled in 2007 that border guards in Canada could require a search warrant before opening a truck. Although that was overturned, it greatly alarmed U.S. officials about subjecting their personnel to Canadian law. In addition, various lawsuits are under way in U.S. courts seeking to limit the powers of American border agents, and DHS does not want to be seen voluntarily giving up powers to Canada that it is arguing in U.S. courts are essential to justify. Napitano will have to tackle each of these issues if pre-clearance is to go ahead.

What's left is more negotiation with no guiding vision for the future—but perhaps an opportunity to slowly rebuild some of the trust that eroded during the Bush era. And maybe even an agreement one day on small planes. "That is an interesting idea," said Van Loon of the multilateral screening plan under construction in Ireland. "We are still examining it."

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VAN LOON expects only incremental gains in efficiency

discussed it as an "after myth" that they had a fight and blamed her surname on a leading question. But later, Napitano made headlines again at a conference on border policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington, informing a political environment in which she is perceived to meet both the Canadian and Mexican borders with "some push"—a comment that was misinterpreted as saying he had now thrown his support.

Napitano's spokeswoman declined an interview request. Despite the tense beginning, Van Loon says that he and Napitano have already made two border meetings. They have committed to meeting twice each year to discuss the border—outside of any other role that they may also attend. They have also committed to looking for ways to share resources and manage the border together. For example, a pilot police project that ended last year's U.S.-Canadian border patrols of shared seaways could become permanent. "The topic of meeting more than once will have decisions on co-operative approaches to security and facilitating trade," Van Loon says. "We



WHEN K CAME TO AMERICA

Nikita Khrushchev's 1959 visit was a Cold War comic interlude

BY **REXAN BETHUNE** • History, as Earl Marx's famous dictum would have it, is supposed to be tragedy first and comedy second. Hard then to say what the great Marx might have made of his high-spirited fellow Communist Nikita Khrushchev and his 1959 tour across America. As described in journalist

Prisc Carlson's *A Bitter Top* (Public Affairs), even at the time the tour had two weeks after such things as a Cold War comic interlude, a kind of real-life farce or vaudeville. Dr. Strangelove's plot lines the film, from our perspective, juddering back over half a century during which East and West—called to MAD, that apt acronym for the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction—struggled to avoid escalating carnage. Khrushchev's excellent adventure begins not just laughter but nostalgia for a time when several of us did not come from halfway-regimented and censored

by the threat of retaliation. And for when the comedy had a sense of humor.

The visit must have seemed a natural event when first proposed. Khrushchev, who had deeply accumulated negative power in the U.S.S.R. since the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, may not have been nominated as his predecessor. Nevertheless, he was devoid of diplomatic skills ("We will bury you," this slogan, and over ready to commit designers he had nuclear missiles at his beck and call. This would be the first visit of a Soviet leader to America, and the prospect that he and U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower might, as he later delicately put it, have a "mutually profitable informal exchange of views" would have soured hopeful to most Americans.

In the end, diplomatic progress was made, but in 13 days in September, Khrush-

chev managed to get stuck in a New York elevator, apoplexically near a San Francisco supermarket and at Iowa's railroad, eight Starlin MacLaine on the set of *Can-Can*, and there a Hollywood itinerary involving denied access to Disneyland (That's the particular overheat explained in Carlson's title, taken from a newspaper headline—any citizens had great difficulty here in spelling "Khrushchev" and in fixing it into the space available. "K" and even "Krushy" often stood in for it.)

News of the visit provided an appetizer. After combing his files, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover estimated that 75,000 Americans wanted to kill Khrushchev. Still, plenty of others wanted him to drop by, meet the family, say for supper—see, as the cliché would have it, the real America, and thereby learn to love it. Tennessee senator Estes Bevelles issued the Grand Ole Opry, an Atlantic City hotel, a famed free use of his penknife ("Two loafs, sashies and a Japanese bunscher") like Apple Farred Parade in Las Vegas, Miss. Attorney Khrushchev to drop by ("If you would like to enter a feast," the formal chairman wrote him, "please come know"), Louis Armstrong thought "Mr. K" might be a jazz club. "He's a cat, man," Stokely said a reporter, "a bassist being like anybody else."

Eventually the advance crew settled on Washington (Where Eisenhower dinner, New York addressing the UN), a luncheon at Twentieth Century Fox's studios in Los Angeles, a visit to IBM in San Francisco, the Iowa corn farm of Khrushchev's American friend Roosevelt Gurnea, a Pittsburgh steel mill, and a few distant talent camps. David, New York's high light, at least for the tabloids, saw the Soviet dictator read out of a malfunctioning elevator in the elegant White House, his ample snout shoved from behind by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. ambassador to the UN and the diplomat in charge of this traveling circus.

While the East Coast had its moments, most didn't become truly memorable and the tour ended in Hollywood. The film world turned itself inside out over a dampened visit. Stars fidgeted to be seen sitting with a Communist; some were flustered to get into the 40th anniversary to dine with a Communist dinner. Only a few Cold Warriors, including Ronald Reagan, turned down the invitation, while Marilyn Monroe was desperate to sit on the same. Her sidekick, according to the screen's main press line, that Monroe knew only two things about America—Gina Gans and Marilyn Monroe—and that she had to show up, in her "brightest, sexiest dress." Others who came included Frank Sinatra, Judy Garland and Gary Cooper. After the meal, Khrushchev, who had spent a lot of late nights watching Westerns with Stalin, an impressive affec-

ada of the great, had a long conversation with Cooper, an Oscar winner for *A Gun With Wings*. To reassure Soviet demonstrators of U.S. steel producer, black stars like Nat "King" Cole were also invited, making the luncheon Hollywood's first integrated, left-party event, according to one contemporary journalist. It all went well until LAFO chief William Parlux, apoplexically by a tomato tossed at Khrushchev's car (it missed, spluttering the chef's white apron), announced that he couldn't guarantee security if the Soviets went ahead with a side excursion to Disneyland. So Lodge

by being photographed glowing proudly at MacLaine, he denounced *Can-Can* as dirtiest bourgeois pornography, telling reporters that "Khrushchev's face is more beautiful than its backdrop."

The rest of the Los Angeles leg went no better. After Communist marks from right-wing Republican mayor Norris Paulson provoked another bulging vein outbreak, a public threat to go home and ruing up the arms race. That one did save Khrushchev's audience. "You could use the finest nuclear rockets speaking," wrote Eisenhower Sunday

KHRUSHCHEV copied MacLaine on the set of *Can-Can* (below), where Americans greeted his visit questions, joking with the crowd during a stop in Coon Rapids, Iowa (top) (by David)



HE LOOKED ON ME 'THE WAY A MAN LOOKS ON A WOMAN,' SAID MARILYN MONROE

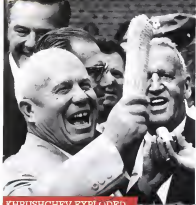
called it off, with small volumes of small backing within his guest. After 48 minutes of watching post-lunch remarks, Khrushchev's face grew as he turned to the topic of Disneyland. "What is it? Is there an epidemic of child? Have gangsters taken hold of the place? Who must I do, commit suicide?"

His audience, as accustomed to egomaniacal temper tantrums as any in the world, was unfazed. The motor himself seemed calm after remarks as he toured the *Can-Can* set, watching male dancers under the clasp of female dancers and emerge clucking what appeared to be their real partners. Perhaps he was watching a good game, or merely happy that he had met Monroe. ("He looked on me the way a man looks on a woman," she later said. And what, he would insist, did the carabine of the director? "He was fat and ugly and had wrinkles on his face and he growled.") But afterwards, when Khrushchev was embarrassed



in the New York Times (he again called David Paulson had "tried to let out a little fart," he told Lodge, "instead he put it out in his pants"). The American was glad to get out of town, and even happier that San Francisco began well, with an incident-free visit to IBM. "We had, then, almost the superlative. America's capitalist class didn't have anything all along to get their voice into a supermarket, the very core of U.S. abundance, to show up Soviet economy and security. Now they had their visit to Khrushchev and a cable

TOP: FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT; MIDDLE: PHILIP J. BARNES/REUTERS



KHRUSHCHEV EXPLODED WHEN DISNEYLAND WAS CALLED OFF: 'IS THERE AN EPIDEMIC OF CHOLERA?'

of bodyguards swarmed into Quaiyao Road. Unfortunately, the bodyguards got initially flustered by the presence of unarmored persons—in this case bewigged shoppers—looked none in a mode around their charge. This in turn befuddled photographers and newsmen from getting their shots, and the media ran was on. One phony happy stack of instant packets, acquiring meat, wadded, climbed shelves filled with jars of instant coffee, knocking them to the floor in a cascade of glass splinters, a third panned as a stunt camera only to be tumbled by an envious bouncer yelling "get off my clock!" Another, even more desperate than his fellow, simply crashed through the deluge and snatched a photo across the island and chose, to show Khrushchev dining with the shell-shocked store manager.

By the time the car reached home, everyone with the notable exception of Khrushchev himself—was showing the signs. Two of Lodge's aids and friends had collapsed, one locked himself in his hotel room and took the phone off the hook. Reporters, never the greatest of travelers, now fighting with



cars. The stage was set for the next media brawl when the car arrived at Gorb's farm. What befuddled Gorb and Khrushchev together was a shroud, almost mystical, belief in the beauty, splendour and wonder of form. They

had been phobias 1991 when Gorb's wife and the U.S.S.R. to tell his hybrid virtues. They were very much alike. From across the city, capable of eating, drinking and talking—especially about cars—for hours.

Overly defensive, though, was that Khrushchev was aware, more than many a communist party democratic politician, of the importance of playing to the media, especially the TV camera. Gorb was no match. The sight of journalists swarming his car as they climbed in on Khrushchev and his own a frenzy. But he hid the nearest road—the River Salisbury—in the thick, then he began throwing words at the rest. But there were the communist veterans of the Battle of Quaiyao Road, and they held their ground long enough to snap photos of a big-eyed Gorb with a smiling Khrushchev.

The tour eventually made a break to Whiteington for its almost forgotten main purpose, the milk in Camp David. Little was accomplished, but at least it was done in due season. As Khrushchev drew home, dark curtains in the green cars were left unopened for words to describe what had happened. Associated Press reporter Scott Smith's summation

KHRUSHCHEV and Gorb sit down now, Gorb, it seems, is a little more than a model of the Soviet craft that had reached the moon.

Hooliganism prisoner free after 20 years

BY RAYE LINNAY • The Chinese government has never given a full account of what happened in June 4, 1989, when pro-democracy protesters were shut down in Tiananmen Square. But the 20th anniversary approach, a series of press of good news emerged. Liu Zhen, the last arrestee known to be held in the now-defunct charge of "hooliganism," has finally been released.

Liu was just 14 years old when he helped incite workers to strike at a state-owned factory in southern Pakistan, an incident in the schools and writing graduate course at a higher rate than their male counterparts.

The literacy rate for women in Pakistan is nearly 60 per cent, and an opportunity for young girls to learn to read and write a word while there is none, however, even when the students and lessons are some believe the schools are exposing students to radical Islamic teachings, and fostering sympathy for militant groups.

June 4, 1989: army moves on protesters in Tiananmen Square

In the Punjab region, where a significant number of madrasas are found, police say that more than two thirds of suicide bombings that have occurred in the region since 2007, as all female madrasas closed in an effort to limit Islamic extremism. In the night day school with Pakistan students forces that left over 100 dead. Female students had launched a Taliban-style morality campaign, carrying educational materials and religious texts to the streets, and had opposing women's rights. The school was a turning point for Pakistan, building support for militants and further eroding law power.

Despite the concerns over radicalization, madrasas are often the only education that girls can get. And for those in Pakistan who feel that Islam is weakening under the influence of the West, the schools have appeal. Others are calling for reform in the schools' curricula. Ultimately, the madrasas' radicalism may only lead the cycle of underrepresentation of Pakistan women in politics.

Karen Harper that Tiananmen's 20th anniversary could provide some incentive to release the last of the so-called "June Fourth Prisoners." (Although 30 people are still in imprisonment, roughly the foundation.) If the government has any the slightest interest in being seen to put June 4 behind it, they should release them all," Karen says. "It's been 30 years. It's time."

Reading, writing, and radicalism?

BY JEN CUTLER • In a country where public education has long been low on the state's list of priorities, madrasas, or Islamic schools, provide a way for Pakistan's poorest families to educate their children. Though they have traditionally been open only to males, there has recently been an dramatic rise in the number of all female religious schools of the roughly 14 million registered with the state, around 1,600 are attended by young women only. The female students, who have lowered educational attainment, are enrolling in the schools and writing graduate course at a higher rate than their male counterparts.

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Perilous to be pro-South in North Korea

BY PATRICIA TROBLE • As North Korea reaches up to nations with its economic appeal, being seen as pro-South is increasingly perilous in the farthest kingdom. A southern news agency just reported that the leading pro-reconciliation agency in the North, Chosun Chong, was executed last year, though some analysts believe he was sent to a military camp or possibly executed for a different reason. Other pro-South officials have been replaced by military hard-liners.

Relations have soured since last year's election in the South of conservative President Lee Myung-bak, who ended years of "sunshine" and flowing north and south economic assistance to modern development by Kim Jong Il's nation. The North's position soon hardened. "North Korea launched a probe into corruption last spring

However it later ended into a political purge in winter Korea's southern worsened," Lee Seung-gwan, director of southern research group that has extensive dealings across the border, told Reuters. "North Korea might have had nothing against reconciliation, which blossomed under liberal governments in Seoul, but could a kind of admiration for South Korea's economic growth."

So it was no surprise when the North suddenly ended liaison, but not the agreement at the Kaesong Industrial Park on May 15. The economic zone, located just north of the most heavily militarized border in the world, houses 300 South Korean firms employing 14,000 North Korean workers. Now the North wants more money, including better wages, which now cost at US\$70 a month. Since the salaries are paid daily to the Communist government, and can be used in a cash-based regime. It needs the hard currency, especially since international sanctions were tightened after the North defied the world by loading out of a nuclear deal and launching a rocket in April.

Not all are as critical as before. Earlier this month, a southern news agency broke a story that South Korea's efforts to attract a North Korean ship off the coast of Africa. "It's not all critical as before. Earlier this month, a southern news agency broke a story that South Korea's efforts to attract a North Korean ship off the coast of Africa."



President Lee Myung-bak tied loose to nuclear disarmament



In Pakistan, 2,000 of 12,000 madrasas are female-only



GREEKS: NO HIGH HEELS AT THE PARTHINON

A summer performance might be the perfect chance to dress up—but women will soon be disappointed from wearing strappy heels while attending events at Greece's grand architectural wonders, as government officials are worried that spike heels could damage them. "These measures are taken to protect the Parthenon," one official said. "Suffering from the same thing, it seems, but suffering because of it is quite a bother."

A BETTER BAILOUT

Could a tax credit for advertising rescue the media industry?

BY NANCY MACDONALD • Ottawa's battle with speculation that the Conservative government may be preparing to selectively bail out Canada's troubled private broadcaster "looking at revenues—partly the result of the shakeout in the auto and financial sectors, two of the largest advertising categories—are threatening to sink parts of the industry. Revenues have suffered this year, and could be as large as \$100 million, in being prepared to benefit CTV, Globalmedia and Corus." The country's two largest private broadcast networks. For months, the broadcasters have complained to the CRTC that the industry's revenue model is broken.

Last week, Carwest was granted yet another two-week extension from lenders, as it races to restructure its revolving debt. The Carwest board, National Post had already announced that it would not print a Monday edition this summer in a bid to slash costs. The Carwest-owned Victoria Times Colonist will accept its Monday edition altogether. CTV, Globalmedia, meanwhile, is not expected to renew the licenses of several money-losing local stations due in August, and many believe this is just the start of a larger trend.

But financial realities aren't limited to the broadcasters. Newspapers, magazines and the CBC are also bleeding money, and critics have begun to question the fairness of a bailout targeted only at private broadcasters. "A direct and selective bailout for media companies is really not workable," says Ron Lo of UBC's Sauder School of Business. "Government will be seen to be buying favourable coverage—whether that is in fact the case or not," compromising editorial independence. And a Carwest bailout would spark "enormous outcry" given the government's past rejection of multi-billion dollar requests for aid from the CBC in February, says Hugh Dow, chairman of Metroland's Council, a holding company for some of the country's largest media buyers.

Rather than an ad hoc media bailout, some

experts are advocating tax breaks targeted at advertisers. Advocates say this would stimulate ad media, rather than just one or two private broadcasters, and would bring governments away from the politically dizzy business of picking winners. And, let's face it, it's the "losers" that government ends up picking—"the people who got into trouble in the first place," says University of Calgary law guru Jack Manis. Carwest got into trouble because it took on too much debt, believing that consolidation of newspaper and TV assets would bring about efficiencies and profitability, says Lo. "It was a gamble, and they lost."

With a tax credit, "only the best would sur-

vive," says Manis, and they would increase their earnings. Furthermore, ad spending flows into the hands of people who create the ads, who, in turn, hire actors, producers and technicians to create the ads, who rent supplies, equipment, and so on, cycling money through the economy. Chung adds. Recently, the German government gave "a very large tax credit for people to turn in their old clunker cars," and it had "anally big impact" on car buying, says Manis. And early data on the government's home renovation tax credit suggests that we have seen an uptick in activity. Lo adds:

Not only does advertising prime the economy and encourage consumer spending—critical to bolstering spending broadly, and getting the economy rolling again—

but companies that spend on advertising through the recession "emerge with a stronger brand presence and market share after," says Brian Book, president and CEO of media agency ZenithOptimedia Canada. Indeed, recent studies have shown firms that kept ad spending stable or increased it during a recession fared better during the subsequent recovery than those that didn't. "If you put back advertising, people are less likely to recognize you, or understand your product," says Dow.

To be sure, not everyone is in favour of an advertising tax break. With such "boutique tax credits," government is still in a position of favouring some industries over others, says Kevin Gradet, federal director of the Canadian Taxpayers Federation. "Profitable industries would then be paying high taxes in order to subsidize tax credits for less profitable industries."

The question, Vliet says, is whether media need the subsidies more than other industries, and indeed, whether Canada needs healthy and prosperous media. ■



RATHER THAN favouring broadcasters, a tax credit would benefit all media.

view to terms of where businesses choose to place their advertising dollars—a "bottom up approach," rather than a top-down approach," says Janice Galambos, managing director of tax for CIBC Private Wealth Management. And unlike a bailout, which simply helps troubled companies to cover costs, an incentive would "create demand" for ad spending, says Tim Chung of UBC's Sauder School of Business, noting that many companies are currently sitting on the fence on advertising. Knowing that \$100 in advertising will only cost them 75p or 80p after the tax credit would be enough to get many spending again, he says. "Businesses know this advertising can protect

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In prison, nothing says "make Our Daughters and Sons go to Work Day" like \$5,000 worth of electricity. During a recent tour of Florida's Correctional Institution in Florida, Sgt. Walter Schindler gave kids a taste of life in the big house by zapping them with his stun gun. Though the 14-year veteran maintains he got permission from their parents first, officials waited no time in giving him the boot, which he described as "the big stick."

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LARRY GREENE

ECONOWATCH

A WEEKLY SCORECARD ON THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IN NORTH AMERICA AND BEYOND



STEVE MACHIN

David Rosenberg ranks up there with the very best economic minds currently pressing the demand switch, and last week he returned home to Toronto, to a new job as chief economist with Toronto's Gluskin Sheff, after seven years spent in a lead economist role with Merrill Lynch in New York.

While he was south of the border, Rosenberg became known as one of the previous few economists willing to warn of serious trouble ahead. While some of Wall Street's conventional wisdom was that the economy was heading for a soft landing, Rosenberg was warning of a hard landing, and again that it would end in tears. As we all know by now, it did. And, in any case, it's been a fair bit worse than even Rosenberg predicted. It spread pain and the world and, especially, destroyed Rosenberg's own firm. Even the man who paid his salary wasn't paying close enough attention to his sobering analysis of a market gone mad.

One of Rosenberg's most memorable contributions to Merrill was his list of 11 rules for fledgling economists. They're all worth remembering, but one stands out: the U.S. consumer right and every thing else will take care of itself.

That seems especially relevant right now, because, for the past month or so, there's been a lot of talk about "green shoots" in the economy. On the back of a surprising, if fairly encouraging, data, we've seen a rising surge on the stock market. Many economists are convinced that the worst of this crisis has passed and we're just around the corner. But at the end of the crisis phase and the beginning of a true recovery are two different things, and to understand why, you need only to remember Rosenberg's advice. Keep your eye on the consumer.

We know from past experience that it is possible for the economy to recover without creating any new jobs. It's possible for GDP to grow while huge industries and vast regions are in turmoil. But can the world economy recover while U.S. consumers are in shock? Can the U.S. and its trading partners drive while hand-to-mouth? While millions are losing their home values, and thousands are being forced to sell their homes? April's flawed retail sales number is providing an unpleasant hint at the answer. We've seen many amazing things in this recession, but a global rebound taking hold while ordinary Americans are still too worried to spend? That would top them all. ■

OVERDRAWN by Jason Logan

A GRIP GLASS OF WINE



THE GOOD NEWS

Where the heart is

Canadian home sales improved dramatically in April—the third consecutive month of improvement since January's all-time low. Sales were up 2.3 per cent on the month, according to the Canadian Real Estate Association. Consumers still refused to put their house on the market during a recession (new listings were down 10 per cent from a year ago) but frustrated supply has driven prices up by one per cent from March, and they are now just slightly below the peak in December 2007.

Revving up car sales

Home isn't the only thing selling better. New-vehicle sales shot up by 6.1 per cent in March. Sales

of trucks and vans rose especially well, rising 13 per cent on the month. The gain has to be large in perspective, car sales are still 33 per cent below where they were a year ago.



Four of 'Nation

Producer prices in the U.S. climbed by 0.3 per cent last month, while consumer prices remained flat. This shows a huge effort to get consumers who find themselves worrying about both inflation and deflation on the same note. Inflation would obviously crush consumer spending power and further enfeeble the men in struggling families, while falling prices could create a deflationary spiral. Thankfully, for now, both threats seem distant.

THE BAD NEWS

Behind the bad bill

The number of U.S. households facing foreclosure increased again in April—to 542,000. That number is a whopping 32 per cent above where it was a year ago (when foreclosures were already considered to be at crisis level). It wasn't the slowdown in foreclosures earlier this year that was just a brief reprieve.

Sales facts

The much-hyped forecast of U.S. consumers isn't quite what it was cracked up to be. April retail sales fell 0.4 per cent from March, and were down 2.0 per cent from a year ago. The economy and appliance stores were especially weak. Merchandise sales were revised lower, meaning post-holiday bargain hunting has stretched to a stop.

Manufacturing misery

Like U.S. retail sales, the U.S. factory output (Canadian manufacturing collapsed in March, with shipments down 7.7 per cent from the previous month) is 33 per cent below the peak last summer. A 3.6 per cent decline in new orders is a warning of more gloom ahead.



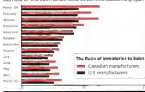
Jobless claims

Weekly claims largely surpassed the U.S. rate to \$370,000 last week, nearly wiping out two weeks of improvement. More worrying is the surge in continuing unemployment claims, which rose by 30,000 in a week—the worst jump in unemployment claims in six months—proving that the job market remains extremely depressed, and may still be getting worse.

GRAPH OF THE WEEK

EYES ON THE HORIZON

How close is it to when manufacturers will restart production and hire workers again, watch the relationship between sales and production. Typically, manufacturers' new orders are about 12-18 months out. But as sales plunged faster than production in the past year, manufacturers have fallen to around 15, and will be sold down before factories can start accelerating again.



SIGNS OF THE TIMES



► Many economists will tell you that consumer traffic on the high seas is the single best barometer of the state of the world. And it is, the same watching off the coast of Singapore as a sailing race to the west. Approximately 715 cruise frigates have entered their because they have no destinations to carry and nowhere to go. It's cheaper to drop anchor and wait than to head for shore. For now, they're a floating testament to the sad shape of the global economy.

► Politicians and economists have frayed publicly about the lack of available credit for consumers to fuel the American economy. But for a lack of credit, it seems the real problem is a lack of demand for credit. The U.S. Federal Reserve reports 60 per cent of banks reported a decline in loan applications in the first quarter. After a lull on credit for a decade, household debt suddenly stopped growing at the end of last year.

► U.S. auto dealerships—businesses that represented the heart of local commerce in so many communities—are facing their sharpest decline ever. Chrysler has said it will lose 780 dealerships, or a quarter of its dealer network in the next year. GM already announced plans to shut down 2,600 dealers worldwide.

► The recession is hitting just as hard across the Atlantic as it is here. Home representations in Britain surged by almost 50 per cent from a year ago in the first quarter, France's GDP fell by 3.2 per cent in the first three months of the year—the worst decline in the past war era, and Italy's is plunging at a 5.9 per cent annual rate.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE

In the midst of a pure thing between it doesn't seem much to count several options. This week, fresh evidence of a sale in the sales more largely and another surge in mortgage foreclosures in the United States overwhelmed all the talk of "green shoots" on the downcast economic landscape. Now, closer to a year since focused on the difficult road ahead, and even asking whether those green shoots are strong enough to survive this harsh climate. It's getting harder to believe this bull market will last.

"What we saw last week was only a necessary pause, not the beginning of a resumption. The worst of the economy is behind us and it's hard to see earnings getting any worse down here."

—*Bank Swick, chief investment officer of Hartford Trust Co.*

"There is no momentum in spending; the free fall is over but... declining incomes mean a broadly flat trend is about the best we can expect. Green shoots are withering."

—*Lee Stephenson, High Frequency Economics*



"It looks to me now as if the markets are pricing in a rapid recovery... which I consider to be extremely unlikely. The market seems to be looking as if it is going to be an average recession, but it's not."

—*Paul Dales*

"Although the worst is now over, there's still no evidence of an actual recovery."

—*Paul Dales, Capital Economics*

"This is a very deep and defining recession that is going to lead to a transformed U.S. economy, and these transformations don't take place overnight."

—*Paul Karant, The Northern Trust Corp.*

THE ECONOGAUGE

Our weekly estimate of the prevailing mood among investors and consumers.



THE WEEK AHEAD

THURSDAY, MAY 21 The Canadian dollar will report 11 months of falling indicators for April. After 11 months of decline, the index is expected to rise thanks to higher stock and commodity prices.

FRIDAY, MAY 22 Statistics Canada will report retail sales for the month of March and economists are hoping for at least a continuation of the February's modest 0.2 per cent rise.

TUESDAY, MAY 26 The Canadian dollar will report U.S. consumer confidence, which jumped significantly higher last month.



THAT'S NOT FUNNY!

The website behind those cute cat photos has a darker side

BY ALEXANDRA SHIMO // In December 2007, Chris Ford was named *Wired*'s Teeniest spurned and charged with having an underage girl, pictures of a pregnant woman and other internet filth. Ford, then 21, had posted nude photos of himself in Internet girls' rooms and tried to flirt with pregnant girls. After some of those hard conversations were sent to members of his church, Toronto police's Child Exploitation Section was called in. Ford was later sentenced to 12 months

The cyber vigilantes who uncovered his secret and brought about the arrest did not reveal their identities. But subsequent reports linked them to the Internet group Anonymous, which grew out of a message board site, where you'll find online:

If you've never heard of *4chan*, you're probably not aware of some of its actions. Its users have created some of *Wired*'s most popular Internet memes, such as *WakaWaka*, which became a pop-culture reference with a link to the Rick Astley song *Never Gonna Give You Up*, and *lolcats*, those photos of cutesy felines accompanied by broken English captions like "I can see Cheburashka!" (which is missing

SITE FOUNDER "tosh" (left), low-level hackers and Rick Astley are popular site gags. Ford was busted by 4chan associates

diag called lolpup). Remember the hats about the *Chocolate Rain* song, by Teyo Dierks? Its popularity partly stemmed from a joke—characters decided to listen to ringtones because of its absurd lyrics and melody, it was eventually covered by John Mayer and others. With more than 100 million page



views per month, *4chan* has become more simply as the home of true. When something becomes a trend on the site, it will likely be your computer screen soon, explains Tim Trosman, a research associate at Harvard's Berkman Center for Internet & Society.

So what does this cultural fiasco look like? It has been linked from comedy sketches, criticism to civil parades and online harassment, and named a source of teen violence by Time, which described it as "raw, sarcastic, born of any social or political agenda but frequently funny as hell." This would know, as it appears to be the heart of a *4chan* joke that rigged the voting of the magazine's "World's Most Influential Person" submission, sending it to several reports. The found of *4chan*, called "tosh," is this year's winner, he beat out Barack Obama and the Duke Lanes (Time wouldn't confirm or deny the hack, but the mock-up for themselves). The first article of the top 21 candidates spell the phrase "Mikolajewski" (the game). Mikolajewski is the name of a *4chan* discussion on Scientology, and a top-notch social network. This list of computer mischief is emblematic of the site, whose users have been accused of everything from sexual abuse to cyber-stalking. In other words, *4chan* is a powerful mix of all the things, possibly, chaos and chaos.

The people who drive the site aren't exactly society's heavy hitters: the biggest demographic appears to be 13- to 17-year-olds, according to *Wired*. One user, a site that most users display as "tosh," said it's a great way to pretty much what you might expect from teenagers, especially those, usually from school, with a lot of swear words and

pornography are common. But so are nice things, as well as religion, hip-hop culture, and toilet humor. The site is a mix of a mix of the audience—to create "lol," a computer of "lol" (short for "laugh out loud") that relies on the joy of a joking someone.



Sometimes, an Internet joke, users have a case. In February, *4chan*'s users found a video of a cat being physically abused on YouTube. With some Internet clanking, they

posted "What's unbelievable about this animal going on?" explains one of *4chan*'s moderators, who posted the video. "These people are all trying to do this."

Unlike most Web forums, *4chan* does not filter vulgar or vulgar material. Almost anything, no matter how depraved or cruel, can be posted on the site, although there is a ban on child pornography. Since it doesn't require user names or registration,



most people are automatically given aliases. "Anonymous." And "lol" is often used to mean "laugh out loud."

As a result, an anti-U.S. law largely ignores individuals who post anonymously, says Richard S. Tedlow, a College Board national director and Internet expert, who writes a popular law column. That's why changing as judges rule on the site, but not on the law. Some of the online harassment have law legal rights. They can sue the lawsuit asking the site to remove user identities, he says, but there is no guarantee they will win. And if they do win, the lawsuit might not keep any records. Sites can track users through their computer's IP addresses, but websites don't always have the information, explains Michael Perle of ReputationDefender, a U.S. firm that provides support and legal help for victims of online abuse. And when the FBI is notified from a public computer, you're out of luck.

In some cases, it gives rise to *4chan* cat blunche. Sometimes *4chan* users for society, noting one problem and on cartoonists. *4chan*, they engage in cyber-stalking and harassment. The choice is clearly there. Anonymous enables a range of behavior that would be otherwise out of hand. And online, says Stoddie, haven't yet evolved to keep up. ■



SAUDI ARABIA: 'MISS BEAUTIFUL MORALS' PAGHANT In Saudi Arabia, it's what's on the inside that counts. Instead of animals and social games, the 200 women competing to be crowned Miss Saudi Arabia are being judged on their Islamic beliefs. The second annual contest, dubbed "Miss Beautiful Morals," includes workshops on issues such as respect for women's parents. "The winner won't necessarily be beautiful," says the event's founder. "We care about the beauty of the soul."

THE BACK PAGES

stage

The nine-hour play is here

7.22

tv

Can a therapist do that?

7.22

music

Broadway heroes

7.22

taste

Eating in Vancouver

8.04

help

Roommate from hell

8.06

steyn

Telling about the Tantis

7.08



FLOWER POWER IN CANNES

The mother of all rock festivals and the mother of all film festivals meet up for the debut of Ang Lee's new film about Woodstock BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

film

"By the time we got to Woodstock, we were half a million strong."

Joni Mitchell, who wrote those lyrics, wasn't there. But you didn't have to be there to be there. The Woodstock festival, which marks its 40th anniversary this summer, came to symbolize a nation utopia of peace, love and LSD that

contained like a touring company of Harp played faithful covers of "Yes Yes. Some of the more infamous guests grooved mad only on the dance floor, inducing plonic flares of champagne. Orange-petalled flowers, which looked like giant daisies, were strewn wistfully around to party lovers. Otherwise, hippie touches were minimal. No complaints on the beach, no bluffs of marijuana smoke.

3,340 who watched with reverence, curiosity and amusement. But they seemed to miss some of the plot in a picture that Lee uses to his first comedy in 14 years with a glow of era gods. Not that he's making fun of hippies. Far from it. "This is a movie from a man who as a child of the Cold War in Taiwan watched Woodstock on the TV news, and now wishes he'd been there." Woodstock planted a seed.

Lee told me "All the good issues are an creation of what that generation was about." In fact, Obama's inauguration could be seen as a Woodstock moment. That day, Lee was supposed to get a call from his 14-year-old son, who'd slipped school to attend. "I said, 'How did you get there?' He said, 'I heard, 'Mama my friends said about it like going to Woodstock. It's a historic moment. You have to participate.'"

As a young boomer—who wasn't actually at Woodstock but tried hard to make up for it—I've just begun to realize that Woodstock's legacy is now a faded pop artifact for a generation that doesn't remember but when people said "far out" instead of "awesome."



DEBUTING: MATTING (left, center), TIM FORTY, ANG LEE, CANNES

PHOTO: LARRY FORD FOR ANGEE/OLIVE

Last weekend, citizens after Easy Rider, the mother of all rock festivals and the mother of all film festivals merged in an odd flashback on the French Riviera with the premiere of *Woodstock*, an ode to hippie bliss by Ang Lee, the Oscar-winning director of *Braveheart* and *Life of Pi*. The film began on the main stage of Cannes, where it was shown in a special screening.

After the premiere, a party for the film began on the beach at midnight. A rock band

no longer. At the side of the main stage, a group of seven in tall, thin togas used tea-light candles to an orchestral score on fire before handing them, like perfume, to the audience, who then followed the candles and ending games. It was hard to say if it was a period touch or a modern recreation.

One of 30 features in competition at the 62nd annual Cannes festival, *Woodstock* premiered before a black-tie crowd of

But the music of the '60s has certainly persisted. *Woodstock* is Lee's movie, not with mixed reactions in Cannes is that it tries to come at an intimate drama out of an event that was so definitively embraced by an epic documentary. Michael Walling's *Woodstock* (2014) with the film's director, Jonny Lee, Jefferson Airplane and the Who plus the muddy sides of half a million more—the three-hour film was a pop culture landmark

Due to be re-released as an expanded DVD for this summer's anniversary is Pittsburgh's seminal movement-of-ethnic-film-making, along with *Mos Def* by Guy and Anne Slinger. They weren't just concert movies, but candid portraits of a generation discovering itself. Lay's film (which opens Aug. 14) pays homage to Woodstock's do with split-screen images and lots of 16-mm footage. Like he can't begin to compete with it.

"We cannot reuse or half a million people," the talk-show director said one early that week, as he held court with his long-time screenwriter-producer, James Schamus, at a penthouse near the Caftan hotel. "And I can't put women riding her assides." That's Justin Joplin. But what I can do is take a dramatic approach and see how it influenced a small part of the world."

Lay's movie looks to Woodstock through the ether end of the ice scope. Like most people who were actually there, it gets nowhere near the stage. And the most staying of the back ground, as if drifting in from afar. Which is how most people actually heard it, based on a 2007 remake by Eric Roby, taking Woodstock to the surf of San Francisco's rugged coastline. Even with Village who ends up hearing the festival while trying to salvage the thirdly business, a teeny Canada film, owned by a Jewish immigrant producer—a talk-show father (Henry Goodman) and a money-grubbing trucker—a co-mother (Franka Potente).

Considering the chamber of commerce in White Lake, N.Y., they offers a permit to Woodstock's organizers after another community backs out. And he revisits dairy farmer Sam Yeager (Wayne Long) to make him land to the festival organizers.

Deciding on his sleepy hollow by his copier and insurance, they are led by Michael Laag (Jonathan Groff), a shrewd hippie entrepreneur, who recruits both the hippie dream and the commercial side. As he turns the road into the festival bus camp, they are buffed by local men Steven and Mattie riders. But salvation arrives in the form of a commutator to Maine (Liv Ullmann), who offers cheap off security as a cow producer is turned into New York's third largest city.

Taking Woodstock, in other words, is a whole

about pricing on a show. It's also a relic of posterity about how they, a doctored guy, who finally wakes into the festival, they drop and change his life. Making his film debut, Dennis Hays, a comedian with his own cable show, is reminiscent of the young Don McNeill in *The Graduate* (1967), and the influence is drawn home by Simon & Garfunkel guitar riff on the score.

There's Jewish mother comes across as a maternal caricature, but the movie's idealized recreation of the concert looks more poignantly

authentic, given that happens have become a filthy word choice. "For Aug, the bigger task was to take on the physicality of what people in 1969 were like," says Schamus, explaining that they were slower with our language toward "They had these natural bodies

'The big joke was finding extras who weren't shaved like porn stars'



IN 1969 for the festival's 40th anniversary, taking Woodstock's spirit Aug. 14

The big joke was finding extras who weren't shaved like porn stars."

"The extra were involved in 'hippie camp,' but Lay was trying to capture a little bit, not just a period look. What mattered, he says, was their attitude, the look on their face, the closely-held way they connect to each other organically."

In fact, he gave the crew signed copies of *McMafia* by the 1971 bestseller by John Hays, the former editor of *USA Today*. Lay's "It's very easy to make fun of hippie culture," says Schamus, 46, who also wrote Woodstock as a kid through his father's triple disc soundtrack on vinyl. "I spent hours looking to this album. But by the time I got to be a teenager, hippies were anti-mainstream. It took me years to have an appreciation for a culture that allowed

itself to be that experimental." The movie tries to make hippies hip again. And in Cannes as young men and they moved, a time when people got used without irony. "If you were a 23-year-old guy in Woodstock and didn't have a phone, you were just hanging out," says Linda Hirsch, who portrays a third student Vietnam vet. "Whoever you were with, that's who you were with. These days you're with who you're with plus the 10 people you're not messaging." Martin corrects: "If you watch the Woodstock documentary, you don't see a whole lot of people hanging it up for the camera, and they're not putting it on their websites, because websites don't exist. You wonder if it's even happening today when it would be like Wood people be able to go between themselves and about some thing bigger?"

Each actor agrees that Barack Obama's election was the closest thing to Woodstock they've experienced. "Everyone was in such an amazing mood," says Hirsch. "It could just go up to someone you'd just met and strike up a great conversation. It was about like Woodstock."

Cannes, meanwhile, is not as far from Woodstock as one can imagine. At the party on the beach after the premiere, women in gowns sat in tables by the lapping surf, between Blackberries as if by proxy. Lay and his stars, whether named coaches in a VIP area, look

a little distant. You can sense a polite response, which is later confirmed when the women are less than ecstatic. "When you go into a computer in Cannes with a camera," says Schamus, "you're willing with a target on your back, because you're not living up to the high-contrast of your target. I think Americans would go for it. As it happens, every country in the world except the U.S. won't go."

In a quiet corner of the party, a couple of veteran distributors show a scene, complete about critics, and similar about how Cannes used to be. How you would hang out over lunch and news, unrecorded by phone. Heaters on end. And critics would join them, rather than rushing off to blog as anyone. They would look the same and talk about film as if nothing had mattered.

For one, W



THE ALL-STAR marathon performance of Lepage's *Logyevsk* will be punctuated by 20-minute Vitamins acts and a 45-minute main event

My play's longer than your play

Robert Lepage's new work is nine hours long and it's not unique. Here comes 'slow theatre.'

BY AMY KINOSTON • After viewing audiences in London, Sydney and Madrid, Robert Lepage's multilingual play *Logyevsk* finally reaches its North American premiere next month at Toronto's Luminato Festival.

And what has theatre makers chattering most about the Canadian theatrical showcase's latest production? Its exploration of the human voice? Its multilingual virtuosity? No, the buzz is all about Lepage's audacious running time of eight hours and 25 minutes. It's being staged in three languages over three days, for Lepage directs at all day marathons punctuated by 10-minute intermissions and a 45-minute main event. Tickets run \$75 to \$125, which you do the math in a bazaar. Where else can you buy genius for 25 cents a minute?

Toronto-based actor and playwright Rick Miller, one of rare actors who collaborated on the production, says Lepage's desire to mount a nine-hour play was not with resistance. "We all thought he was nuts," he says. But he soon saw the time commitment to be the "open space experience." "Time taken on a different scale, you experience things without turning on the BlackBerry or cellphone."

Of course, turning off the BlackBerry was against the grain of an AGO affidavit, then occurring back. "We're looking at the scene, looking at the scene, looking at the scene," Miller says. "I'm going to have a hard time getting my family out." Once people settle in, though, "it's like watching one episode after another of a TV series on DVD."

Lepage's part of a larger "slow theatre" movement, a riff on "slow food" that calls for slower entertainment. In August, Ontario's Shaw Festival is staging its Nobel Concert plays in one day, beginning at 9:30 a.m. and end-

ing at 10:30 p.m. Ticket sales are brisk, says Odette Yveland, director of public relations. "People who like Conrad want to say 'I did it, I survived it.'" But fixed cycles surely a need for narrative, says Naima Kennedy, producer at Nightswimming, the company that staged City of Wines. Not Deleuze's acclaimed 10-hour, seven-play cycle about the city of Thebes that ran over three days at Toronto last month. "You look at the popularity of the latest film," she says. She recalls running into a society type in City of Wines who she assumed would never have the time or inclination to sit through it. "She told me 'Oh, give me anything else, anything long—I'm there.'"

She's there. Has even been beset by the new Raskolnikov in the Canadian, the British playwright Mark Ravenhill, joined celebrated Polish director Krzysztof Lupa, who's known for *Fedra*, 2, an eight-hour homage to Andy Warhol. Lupa's currently staging *Moby-Dick*, a three-hour work progress note part of a nine-hour exploration of "personality." Ravenhill's outburst about "no sleep, no language," he's maximally frustrated by the pace, he admits. "But then I suddenly become hugely excited. For almost the first time in my theatre-going experience, I was truly being treated as an adult, someone who didn't need to be constantly diverted, who

had chosen to be here and was being given space for my own response."

There's power in unique failure, says Matthew Jocelyn, the new artistic director of the Canadian Stage Company. "It's the one place you can really impact your body and mind and imagination to anything that's radically different in contrast of one-day play lines," he says. "Although that slightly annoys a tiny group that can be extremely rich for an audience and extremely rich as a narrative process."

Of course, being receptive to the process requires patience, a quality not evident in the *Guardsmen* reviewer who last-blogged Lepage's premiere at London's Barbican Centre last September. He lauded its visual wonder, but became snippy by the halfway mark, writing: "Note that sound you hear someone peering eye-rolls up off the balconies floor." Still, he reported most of the audience gave it a standing ovation. Maybe they were celebrating their own endurance.

Lepage is an antidote to a momentary culture that interprets "prejudged" theatre. Miller says: "You know what you're going to get out of *Shirley Valentine* or *Derry* Derry. And they deliver. But we want people to experience something that exists in their lives. I've had people who've said: 'I'm still smiling this over.' They didn't quite get it because there's nothing to get. It's a reflection of a distancing, disfigure world." For one making the plunge, Miller has advice: "Bring water. And wear sweatpants." W



PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK. HYMN SINGERS In the Indian city of Hyderabad, 80,000 people gathered to mark the 60th birthday of saint-poet Tagore's *Abanindranath*. To honor the composer, the revellers sang in chorus, holding out some of his hymns, known as *Abanindranath*, in praise of God. The May 10 performance broke a 30-year-old world record for their singing, set in 1927 in Germany, when 80,000 people sang the national anthem.



ENJOY THIS you eat it in, you'll see the holes, and you'd be like, "Oh my God, another one!" writes the author of *I Love My Coney*.

'I pay the rent, what do you do?'

On Post-Its, bills, empty toilet paper rolls:
notes to and from the roommate from hell

For O'Hagan, the bank also had a good "knock on effect." After 10 years of apartment sharing, the generous advance enabled her, last year, to buy her own North London flat and marry her boyfriend, a fellow Glaswegian. It's taken her a while, however, to get used to the idea that she no longer has to store all her food on one shelf in the fridge. ■

Received 10 October 2006; accepted 17 November 2006



After a lengthy battle with drug addiction, Marshall Mathers, known as Eminem, has emerged clean and sober to promote his first album in almost five years. While plugging *Relapse* last week, the 36-year-old rapper credited fellow musician Dilton Jon for supporting him while he kicked his pill-popping habit. "He understands the pressure and any other reasons that you want to come out with the best album possible," he said.

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MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

ROGERS



HAIR, IGNATIEFF was a big success in ratings for Harper, but 1. Stephen Harper, the incumbent PM, and 2. Michael Ignatieff, the opposition leader.

You sicken me, you inferior kettle

It's Harper's ads calling someone else arrogant vs. Iggy's crimes against hyperbole



**SCOTT
FESCHUK**

The problem with the Conservative attack on Michael Ignatieff is that they're made so desperate that they're losing. The party that ruled Stephen Harper as Prof. Whiny McInglorious has his support among slumps in trying to pophoolish the new guy.

The "Key arguments against the Liberal leader look down to three accidents:

1. Ignatieff went away, was a big success in ratings for Harper, but 1. Stephen Harper, the incumbent PM, and 2. Michael Ignatieff, the opposition leader.

2. He's pretty high on himself. So it's come to this—Harper is taking out ads to call someone arrogant. Isn't that a bit like the pot calling the kettle to point out that it can only boil water while it, Stephen Harper, the incumbent PM, can beat water and cook soup?

3. The Conservative leader's "key" is only in it for the sake of it. Ah, yes, Ignatieff is a sinner—he's supposed to be a sinner, that's why he's being attacked. But he's not a sinner, that's why he's being attacked.

It's enough to make you feel for Conservative strategists. They're working so hard that they're trying to hold on to their positions. And as Canadians, we owe them—

because were it not for their attack ads, we would have been denied Justin Trudeau's reaction to their attack ads.

Trudeau's reaction—which you can expect to see in full on his website, on YouTube and, one assumes, if you are not so sure on the train—consists of the noble Liberal MP turning under the table into the voters and using his best voice to say "You wouldn't like me when I'm angry, would you?"

The Conservative government, he says, is "Tearing down and taking, flipping and taking." Pounding the table, he says, "I mean, I know he needed the fourth word to maintain the integrity of the statement, and he wouldn't want to give that up because it's the most effective rhetorical device known to research graders. But... flipping." Got a feeling Trudeau's next video will be on one ball.

The ads also give the new Liberal leader himself the opportunity to do the "My Hon. Mr. Harper Wounded Me." "They want to make Michael Ignatieff the issue," Michael Ignatieff said in a speech. "Well, friends, Michael Ignatieff is not the issue."

This is impressive. It's just 16 words, the Liberal leader succeeded in:

1. making clear that anyone looking to vote for a federal leader who does not refer to everyone as "friends" is out of luck. Lignon says it. Harper says it even more. The wild words of this during a campaign and we all might be willing to give the Liberal leader a little of their leader's anger to refer to as "dudes" or "your bad school."

2. demonstrating that while he's officially been leader for less than a month, he is capable of effectively resorting to the third person. In

fact, he doesn't suddenly find that Dallas Cowboys owner Jerry Jones seems like a really nice guy. He's a third-year common-law student. He's such a moralist that some feel Ignatieff may even be The Chosen One—the self-inflicted moralist who finally figures out how to speak in the fourth person.

Ignatieff has so far rarely absorbed most of the Conservative abuse. He's like the Shrike-War of Canadian politics. But even there's more! He's also going through that one leader phase where he wants everyone to behave courteously during questions. He's so keen on being polite that Liberal MPs can only imagine of ministers how this day is going, and if their family is well. It's adorable.

Ignatieff has even managed to avoid backhanded backhanded to the party convention in Vancouver, at which he would be to carry it all over to mention the Canadian issue, from inferior education for Aboriginals to unfair pay for women. He promised how to small rivers, farms and the North. He promised cash to every mayor, nurse and librarian. He promised to build a Canada with the best workers in the world, the best researchers in the world and the very best between the whole entire universe. Even now, journalists in The House are building case against him for crimes against hyperbole.

He wrapped things up by declaring, "To a great people, given great leadership, nothing is impossible!"—which prompted Ignatieff to cheer wildly and everyone else to go, "Well, did he actually just conclude his speech by referring to himself as 'me'?"

I'm telling you, Ignatieff doesn't switch to someone's going to put together an attack and calling him arrogant. ■

ON THE WEB: To read Feschuk on the Internet, visit his blog maclean.ca/feschuk

JAMES LLOYD LUNDBLAD

1968-2009

All his life he'd wanted to be an RCMP officer.
His true passion was highway patrol.

James Lloyd Lundblad was born Jan. 27, 1968, in Valleyview, Alta., a small farming community known as the "Portal to the Peace"—Peace Country—the immense prairie region stretching across northern Alberta and B.C. James, a quiet, barrel-chested boy who preferred riding the bumper to hockey, was one of two children born to Lloyd, a second-generation crop farmer, and Nicola, a French-speaking farmer's daughter raised in the towns of Guyard and Altona in Manitoba.

Lloyd supplied meat and sausage cuttings from wheat, canola and barley by hauling off. Hardly every night after the kids were in bed, he was gone before they woke. Like him, James was steadfast and hard-headed, with a disdain for the city and a clear view of right from wrong, says his sister Michelle.

Even as a boy, James wanted to join the RCMP. "It wasn't just another any other line," Michelle adds. "He even had a radio that allowed him to listen to police dispatch and memorize their code, lingo and MO. After high school, he went to Grande Prairie College, earning diplomas in police criminology. 'He didn't feel confident enough to apply to the force—just yet,'" Michelle says.

After taking a job at the Anzac oil refinery in Valleyview, James worked up the courage to apply. His rejection letter told him to get more "life experience," so he enrolled at Edmonton's Grant MacEwan College to get typical cog prerequisites, psychology and sociology, under his belt. In 1994, to prove his merit, he joined the Canadian Army Reserve. Basic training left him fitter and stronger than ever before. "Every single thing he did was one small step toward the ultimate goal: joining the RCMP," says his friend Patrick Lee, who remembers a photo taken at CFB Shilo. That day, James's feet were covered in blisters from his fit to toe. "But there he was, glistening away," says Patrick. The silent determination that saw James through every slight and hurt was his defining trait.

Home from Manitoba, he applied again to the Mounties. Once more, he was rejected. He needed a degree, he was told. In 1996, James enrolled at Lethbridge College, where he completed a two-year policing course. At 28, surrounded by 18-year-olds, he was the oldest on campus. He logged three years with British Columbia's

police again in 2001. "If I don't get in, I don't know what I'm going to do," he confided in Michelle. He needn't have worried: the third time proved to be the charm.

Assigned to Regina for 24 weeks at "Detpat," the famed RCMP academy on the city's outskirts, where he trained in firearms, self-defense and driving tactics, practicing crazy U-turns, high-speed passing and chases on empty gravel roads (in the doggo, he loved the traffic detail).

The entire family joined him on visiting in May, when he was promoted with his RCMP badge—one of the "happiest days of our lives," says Michelle. After six weeks of police, his "high boots" were spit-shine to a shimmer, and he'd perfected the sharp angled salute for the first time; he danced the red ball. "It meant more to him" than to any of his troopmates—most in their late teens and early twenties, says Patrick. James was 34. He'd worked so hard for the privilege, says Patrick.

Given pride the RCMP with a wish list of their top three post jobs, James listed 25: all in his home province. None, however, was Edson, the sleepy foothills town where he was dispatched to learn the ropes. Mayor Greg Pauschewitz remembers him play up his every Remembrance Day. And he was forever rounding up fellow Mounties to don the red serge for Edson's parades and carrying chairs through. James had never married. The RCMP was his family, says Michelle. "It was proud of its traditions and rules."

But he didn't much like criminal investigations. Quietly, he longed to join highway patrol, his true passion. All alone, he'd get to cover the open road, his friend Rick Dew explains. Last year, he was promoted to traffic services in Carmar. He was on cloud nine. "He wasn't just RCMP, but he'd learned highway patrol, the job he truly, really loved," says Patrick. A lifelong member, he'd even bought a little white house. "He'd never wanted to put down roots before," says Patrick. Every step, gap job and apartment was a way station to the final goal. Family, he'd arrived.

On May 3, James was pulled off duty 2A when, shortly after 10 a.m., a speaker shot past. He made a U-turn to give chase and was slammed head-on, driver's side, by a five-tonne grain truck, killing him instantly. He was 41.

BY NANCY MACDONALD



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